

# **Shunpon: Intertextuality, Humour, and Sexual Education in Early-modern Japan**



**Maria Lucia Bugno**

Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

University of Cambridge

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## Abstract

### ***Shunpon*: Intertextuality, Humour, and Sexual Education in Early-modern Japan**

This dissertation explores the sexually explicit rewritings of earlier literature in early-modern *shunpon* production. The term *shunpon* is used today by scholars to refer to books containing *shunga* (images displaying explicit sexual content), which were produced in Japan throughout the Edo period (1600-1868). Despite the remarkable output of *shunpon*, until recently the textual part of this corpus has seldom been the object of academic study, which has focused mostly on pictures. By analysing the texts in *shunpon*, I examine the characteristics of these early-modern writings, their aims, readership, and connection with the whole literary panorama of the time. Besides the sexual and satirical uses that have been put forward so far, this study emphasises other aims for these works, namely humour and sexual education. In particular, the focus on *shunpon* rewritings of earlier literature reveals how our own perception of these works, considered canonical today, differs from how they were read at the time.

The introduction gives an outline of the theoretical framework. Chapter One analyses the *shunpon* rewritings of the 17th-century *Meijo nasake kurabe* (Famous Women: Comparisons of Affection), a collection of stories which has so far been considered a minor work. Chapter Two takes up the 18th-century rewritings of *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book), a work that is considered canonical today. Chapter Three examines the re-adaptations of another Heian-period classic, *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise), which cover a vast range of works, such as narrative prose texts, sex manuals and miscellaneous illustrated books. Chapter Four turns to the erotic rewritings of *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), which were published between the 17th and the 19th century. Bringing together the main arguments of the discussion, the conclusion points out how this research on the texts in *shunpon* offers new insight into the study of parody, intertextuality, pornography, and the erotic.





## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text

This dissertation does not exceed the prescribed word limit of 100.000 words including footnotes.

Maria Lucia Bugno



*To the memory of my father.*





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### **Note to the Reader**

Japanese names appear in traditional Japanese order (surname followed by given name), except where an English-language publication follows Western convention.

Except for titles of works, the romaji for Japanese characters is usually not indicated, unless it is an unusual reading. Translations are by the author, except where indicated.

## Introduction

The terms *shunpon* 春本 or *enpon* 艶本 are used today by scholars to refer to books containing *shunga* 春画 (images displaying explicit sexual content) which were produced in Japan throughout the Edo period (1600-1868).<sup>1</sup> This study focuses on *shunpon* in the broadest meaning, as books that rely in some way or another on sexually explicit contents.<sup>2</sup> The quantity of printed *shunpon* that circulated in Edo Japan is believed to be truly vast. In his index, Shirakura lists titles of some 800 works, while “it can be estimated that the total number of *shunga* works was actually about 1200.”<sup>3</sup> In 2013, Hayakawa estimated the existence of about 1500 works, while 2000 titles are actually acknowledged.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the ‘*Enpon* database’ hosted by the Art Research Center (ARC) of Ritsumeikan University lists about 2078 entries.<sup>5</sup>

The scholarly importance of this corpus of texts is not merely a matter of numbers. *Shunpon* represent a production that spans throughout the whole Edo period. The fact that all the leading ukiyo-e artists produced *shunpon* books applying to them their style and innovations is a sign of their prestigious status at the time.<sup>6</sup> This allowed *shunpon* to work as a sponge that absorbed the trends of the early-modern Japanese publishing industry. In doing so, they display a variety of formats (printed books, albums, scrolls), sizes (from *ōhon* to *kobon*), and page layouts.<sup>7</sup>

One of the first *shunpon* artists to sign his works in the Kamigata area in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century is Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛 (active 1664–1689). In his works, we see a clear separation between illustrated and texts, mostly through distinct illustration-only pages dispersed amidst text-only sections. At this stage, a similar distinction between text and pictures was in fact common in narrative illustrated prose books, like those of Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-93), whose books the same Yoshida Hanbei occasionally illustrated.<sup>8</sup> In the same years

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<sup>1</sup> This dissertation is concerned with the type of books that normally fall under the label of *shunpon*, so does not deal with *shunga* prints that are not included in books.

<sup>2</sup> This broad meaning has already been used by Shirakura Yoshihiko, one of the leading scholars of the revival of *shunpon* studies in Japan, in his *Eiri shunga ehon mokuroku*. Shirakura 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Regarding *shunga*, in 2013 Asano indicated that this only considers printed works and did not include paintings or other categories (such as *surimono* prints, *sugoroku* boards, etc.), so the total should exceed 2000 works. Asano in *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure*, p. 108. The first scholar to suggest the existence of 1200 works was Hayashi in *Hihon o motomete* (1972).

<sup>4</sup> “As for books or sets of prints in book form, we can document the existence of about 1500 works and know altogether of more than 2000 titles in the Edo period.” Hayakawa in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.dh-jac.net/db13/ehoncatalogue/FMPro>.

<sup>6</sup> Moronobu (34), Yoshida Hanbei (11), Sugimura Jihei (13), Kiyonobu I (8), Okumura Masanobu (25), Sukenobu (38), Harunobu (6), Koryūsai (31), Shigemasa (28), Kiyonaga (7), Shunshō (19), Shuncho (15), Utamaro (31), Eishi (5), Settei (6), Hokusai (12), Toyokuni I (7), Kunisada (42), Kuniyoshi (33) and Eisen (59). The number in brackets refers to major *shunpon* or sets of *shunga* prints by, or attributed to, that individual in Shirakura 2007. Clark and Gerstle in *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed overview of woodblock-printed illustrated books, their formats and history, see Suzuki-Tinios 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Hanbei illustrated Saikaku’s *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, *Kōshoku gonin onna* and *Nippon eitagura*. All these texts have half or double-page illustrations dispersed amidst several text-only pages. In most cases, he illustrated *hanshibon* 半紙本 (in *shunpon*

in Edo, another pioneer of ukiyo-e, Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-24), contributed to the innovation of the layout of *shunpon* and illustrated books. In many of his picture-books, illustrations cover three quarters of the page with the remaining space on top being employed for a short text (called *kotobagaki* 詞書).<sup>9</sup>

Later in Kyoto, a further development is found in the works of Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1750) in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. In his *shunpon*, which he often produced in collaboration with the Hachimonjiya 八文字屋 publisher, we see a general preference for the horizontal *yokobon* 横本 format. Pictures are usually grouped in the central pages, with longer texts covering approximately two thirds of the whole book. Very short dialogues in *shunpon* came to be inserted within pictures at this point.<sup>10</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we see a further increase in complexity, particularly in Okumura Masanobu's 奥村政信 (1686-1764) works. Masanobu liked to play with a combination of pictures and texts, often combining in the same double-page spreads the title cartouche, captions, poems and dialogues. The lengthy text (*fubun* 付文) was added all at the end of the book, after the illustrations.<sup>11</sup> From this point on, the combination of captions and short dialogues in pictures becomes common, as for example in Suzuki Harunobu's 鈴木春信 (1725-70) erotica, where texts are not always extensive.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the works of Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 (1726-93), both dialogues and captions become longer.<sup>13</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, texts in separate text-only sections and within pictures (particularly dialogues) came to play a more important role, and were arranged to look like the popular formats of the time, such as *gōkan* or *yomihon*. Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786-1865) produced a remarkable number of *shunga* versions of previous

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too, as in *Uruiogusa* うるおい草 or in *Jochū Yarō musubi* 女中野郎むすび, and in other prose works, such as *Yamaji no tsuyu* 山路露 or Saikaku's books).

<sup>9</sup> Moronobu's *shunpon* are consistent in format and size. For instance, among the 13 books held at Nichibunken, only one (*Toko no okimono* 床の置物) does not display the format of double-page spread pictures with text at the top of the page. In this work, additional pictures are added at the top of the main double-page spread illustration below, where small dialogues are inserted. This is the first and only example of dialogues in *shunpon* before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. See Shirakura et al. 2000, p. 31. Similarly, except for 3 albums (貼込帖), the usual size is *ōhon*.

<sup>10</sup> Among Sukenobu's 24 works at the Nichibunken, 18 are *yokobon* with long texts, 4 are *hanshibon* (1 without text), and only 2 are sets of sheets.

<sup>11</sup> Masanobu preferred the *yokobon* format for *shunpon*. He is credited with inaugurating the format of text at the end and illustrations first (see Shirakura 2010b, p. 16). 10 of the 15 *shunpon* at Nichibunken are *yokobon*, the rest are 5 sets of prints or album in various sizes.

<sup>12</sup> Except for sets of prints, Suzuki Harunobu's *shunpon* are *hanshibon* (2 out of 4), a format he also preferred for non-erotic illustrated books. In all his illustrated books (*shunpon* and non), captions are added at the top of the double-page spread illustrations. Dialogues are included mostly in *shunpon* only.

<sup>13</sup> As stated by Shirakura, in Shunshō's *shunpon*, illustrations have longer *kotobagaki*, and dialogues become longer too, so each double-page spread can be read as an independent story. See Shirakura et al. 2000, p. 39.

texts, where the layout and format of the sexually-explicit works were skilfully adapted to look more similar to the source-texts.<sup>14</sup>

This brief synopsis shows the way in which *shunpon* follow the fashions of the publishing industry and display choices specific to illustrators and publishers. It also suggests that, in the case of parody, *shunpon* applied the physical features of the works they were imitating. Having ascertained that part of the importance of *shunpon* lies in the fact that they showcase how the book production changed throughout three centuries, this thesis will pay meticulous attention to the materiality of the titles discussed.

### 1. *Shunpon* and the state of literature

Despite the remarkable output of these sexually explicit works, until recently they have seldom been the object of academic study. The reason for this may be found in the change in attitudes towards *shunga* from the Meiji era, which saw the beginning of a rejection of the appreciation of this form of art.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, they were strictly censored during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, being considered ‘taboo’, and were subsequently forgotten. The only scholarship before the '90s was conducted almost entirely by individuals outside the academy: Ozaki Kyūya 尾崎久弥 (1890-1972), Shibui Kiyoshi 渋井清 (1899-1922), Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二 (1901-1972), Hayashi Yoshikazu 林美一 (1922-1999), and Richard Lane (1926-2002).<sup>16</sup> Their research laid the foundations for later research in this field.

In the last 20 years, a resurgence of studies on these sexually explicit materials has occurred. The first international endeavour in the academic world was carried out in 1996 by Jones, who organized a major research project at Indiana University.<sup>17</sup> Later, in 1999, Screech’s book “*Sex and the Floating World*” appeared, the first publication in Europe focusing solely on the *shunga* phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> These publications, together with the pivotal work of

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<sup>14</sup> Kunisada produced *shunpon* in almost all sizes. Among his 19 books at Nichibunken, 10 are *hanshibon*, 5 *ōhon*, 1 *yokobon*, 1 *kobon*, 1 *chūbon*, and one is an *orihon* album. An attempt at imitating the format of other texts is seen in layouts. For example, *Shunshoku hatsune no ume* is a reworking of Tamenaga Shunsui’s *Shunshoku ume goyomi*, and *Koi no yatsufuji* is a *shunpon* version of Bakin’s *Hakkenden*. As the source-texts, they both have double-page spreads interspersed among text-only pages, which are prevalent overall. Similarly, *Fūzoku sangokushi* is the *shunpon* version of Jippensha Ikku’s *gōkan Sangokushi*, and pictures reproduce the style of *gōkan*, with the text surrounding the illustration.

<sup>15</sup> Ishigami proved how attitudes towards *shunga* changed, leading to the complete ban of every kind of *shunga* in 1872, since they were considered ‘shameful’. “The ordinance Relating to Public Morals 違式誹違条例 issued in Tokyo in 1872 banned the sale or purchase of *shunga*, sex toys and risqué pictures (*abuna-e*), and targeted established customs such as public nudity, mixed bathing and tattoos.” Ishigami in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> See bibliography. Among these scholars, Hayashi Yoshikazu produced the most extensive amount of transcriptions and studies. A collection of his writing, including transcriptions, was published posthumously in 2014 in 13 volumes with the title *Edo enpon daijiten*. See Hayashi et al. 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Jones 1996.

<sup>18</sup> Screech 1999.

Shirakura and Hayakawa in the early 2000s, were an incentive for museums all over the world to host the first exhibitions on this theme.<sup>19</sup>

In 2009 an international project on *shunga* began, conducted through a collaboration between SOAS, University of London, the British Museum, the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) and Ritsumeikan University. After four years, this project led to the publication of the special issue “*Shunga: Sex and Humor in Japanese Art and Literature*” of *Japan Review* in 2013.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, the study “*Shunga: Erotic Art in Japan*” by Buckland was published in 2010, providing a wide range of information about the production and uses of *shunga*.<sup>21</sup> The most recent English publication on this theme is “*Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*”, a scholarly catalogue that accompanied the eponymous international exhibition held at the British Museum between 2013 and 2014. The first exhibition in Japan was later held at Eisei Bunko in Tokyo in 2015, attracting a vast audience.<sup>22</sup>

In 2010, the abovementioned *Enpon* database was created by Ishigami and hosted by the ARC at Ritsumeikan University. This made it possible to locate many works from public and private collections all over the world which have now been digitalised and made available online. It would appear that outside Japan interest has been lost in this new field of studies, while Japanese scholars such as Ishigami, Suzuki, Itasaka and Yamamoto continued to produce new publications until 2017.<sup>23</sup>

The studies that developed as outlined above have made important contributions in the following five areas. First, they have mapped and located what has survived to date. Second, they have undertaken systematic, extensive and meticulous work to identify authors and illustrators engaged in the production of these materials. This task is particularly taxing because censorship often prevented authors and illustrators from explicitly identifying themselves. These studies have also shown that, as mentioned above, even the finest artists were part of this production. Third, some of these studies have attempted to ensure accessibility to these works by producing transcriptions, translations and digital images of texts.<sup>24</sup> While this makes

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<sup>19</sup> Helsinki (2002), Rotterdam (2005), Milan (2009), Barcelona (2009), Seoul (2010). For catalogues and titles of the most influential publications by Shirakura and Hayakawa, see bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Buckland 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Already before the end of the exhibition, in December 2015, 200.000 people had visited it at Eisei Bunko. Later, the exhibition was also presented in Kyoto. <https://news.mynavi.jp/article/20151222-a150/>

<sup>23</sup> Ishigami 2015 and 2016, Suzuki 2017, Yamamoto 2015, Itasaka 2017.

<sup>24</sup> The abovementioned *Enpon* database hosted by the Art Research Center of Ritsumeikan University allows us to locate books held at collections all over the world. The International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) has a database dedicated to *shunpon* only, while several digitalised works are online at the ARC database, and at the website of the Boston

an invaluable contribution, it covers just a fraction of the numbers of *shunpon* mentioned at the outset of this study. Fourth, work has been conducted on the circulation of *shunpon* during their period of production. It has been shown that, despite censorship, *shunga* and *shunpon* were widely available, both in shops and commercial lending libraries (貸本屋).<sup>25</sup> Fifth, hypotheses have been offered around the thorny issue of readership. It is believed that readers included both men and women, reading alone and/or with others. It is also surmised that the *shunpon* readership extended across the full range of classes and occupations.<sup>26</sup>

Another benefit of these studies relates to the terminology used to refer to *shunpon* during the Edo period. *Shunga* and *shunpon* are terms adopted recently, and do not necessarily comply with the terminology used during the Edo period. Scholars have acknowledged that, at the time of their production, several words were used to refer to sexually explicit pictures and books. Sexually explicit images were euphemistically called “pillow pictures” (枕絵), “laughter pictures” (笑絵), and later “wa signs” (わ印, from ‘wa’ of ‘warai’). Similarly, books were known as *kōshokubon* 好色本 (erotic or lascivious books), *makurabon* 枕本 or *makurazōshi* 枕草紙 (pillow books), *enpon* (erotic books, at the time read *ehon*, sometimes written with the character of “charm” or “sensual pleasure” 艶, but often using the character of laughter 笑, picture 絵 or blooming 咲), *warai ezōshi* 笑い絵草紙 (laughter picture books) and only occasionally *shungabon* 春画本 (*shunga* books).<sup>27</sup>

Lastly, another research trend concerns the lively debate around the aims of *shunga*. Beside several auspicious uses acknowledged at the time, so far two other possibilities have been explored: a sexual use and a satirical one.<sup>28</sup> The first can be identified in male masturbation, as some scholars have suggested.<sup>29</sup> Another view assumes that *shunga* were also enjoyed by couples, since the values promoted in *shunga* discourse are generally positive, and that sexual pleasure for all participants and harmony (和合) were the primary aims.<sup>30</sup> The second is a satirical intent which conceives these works as “created often as irreverent jest and

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Museum of Fine arts. Transcriptions of several *shunpon* have been produced by Hayashi Yoshikazu and Richard Lane. Nichibunken has also published transcriptions and English translations of 9 works from 2002 to 2009.

<sup>25</sup> Shirakura et al. 2000, Hayakawa in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, Nagatomo 1999. For a detailed study of the censorship issue, see Garcia 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Hayakawa in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, pp. 12-17.

<sup>27</sup> See Gerstle and Clark in *Shunga: Sex and Humour*, pp. 11-12, Nagatomo 1999 and Shirakura et al. 2000.

<sup>28</sup> *Shunga* were believed to protect warehouses from fire, warriors in battle, and were also found in bridal trousseaux. I am highly indebted to Prof. Fukuda Yasuhiro for showing me actual evidence of their first use, through a *shunpon* that still shows signs of having been wrapped around a pillar.

<sup>29</sup> Screech 1999. This view was strongly rejected by Japanese scholars, such as Shirakura, who in reply to Screech highlighted the variety of possible uses of *shunga*. Male masturbation as the only possible aim has been criticised not only because it excludes non-sexual uses, but also couples and women as possible readerships. See Shirakura et al. 2000, pp. 6-11.

<sup>30</sup> Hayakawa in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, Shirakura et al. 2000.

juxtaposed against non-*shunga* to counter the restrained public surface of society”.<sup>31</sup> Scholars like Gerstle and Preston have interpreted this specific publishing situation as the potential for authors to satirize whatever was “sacrosanct” or “pretentious” in society and to attack and deride the bakufu government by ridiculing educational books that mirrored the government’s agenda.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. The discovery of new critical venues

While the research produced to date has shed light on many facets of *shunpon*, I maintain that there are still areas that need to be explored. The first area that awaits serious engagement is the verbal texts in *shunpon*. Until now, the focus has been put mainly on images while the verbal dimension of these texts has often been overlooked.<sup>33</sup> *Shunpon* normally give lengthy sections of text, and even in pictures, there are snatches of dialogue that are crucial to understanding the meaning of the images themselves. Therefore, the text found in *shunga* and *shunpon* is abundant and important. For this reason, this study is preoccupied with rediscovering the centrality of the verbal dimension of *shunpon*.

Another point that requires further examination is the early-modern terminology of what we now call *shunpon*. While we are aware of these terms, as mentioned above, very little work has been done in order to explore what the meaning of a specific term can reveal about the nature of *shunpon*. For example, we know that they were referred to as *warai-e*, which is undoubtedly related to the delight brought by bodily satisfaction. But could this term suggest something else, for example humour?

A third new venue emerges from an analysis of the titles of the *shunpon* acknowledged to date. A considerable number of titles suggest the presence of *shunpon* that rewrite a previous non-sexually explicit text. I have mapped these titles and organized them in Appendix 1. Despite this, only three scholars have focused on the content and verbal texts of *shunpon* rewritings: Hayakawa, Gerstle and Moretti. Hayakawa dedicated a chapter to this subject in “*Shunga no mikata: jū no pointo*”, where he describes in brief some of the works that have been rewritten, their contents and the techniques used.<sup>34</sup> Another study on rewriting is the analysis of *Onna ensi kyōkun kagami* 女艶姿茎群鑑 by Moretti.<sup>35</sup> The title of this work refers

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<sup>31</sup> “*Shunga* artists and writers were conscious of it as a particular ‘underground’ or ‘private’ sub-genre, one that existed in relation to acceptable public discourse (...). Many *shunga* books, as opposed to paintings or print sets, were created in relation to non-*shunga* works, often as expressly ‘*shunga*’ versions”. Gerstle and Clark in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*, p.8.

<sup>32</sup> Gerstle and Preston in *Shunga: Sex and Humor* and *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure*.

<sup>33</sup> Transcriptions of these texts available to date are nothing but a small fraction of the whole *shunpon* literary panorama.

<sup>34</sup> See Hayakawa 2008.

<sup>35</sup> Moretti in *Shunga: Sex and Humor*.

to the conduct book *Onna Genji kyōkun kagami* 女源氏教訓鑑, but Moretti demonstrates in this article that this *shunpon* is not a minimal parody of the latter, but creates a pastiche of erotic rewritings of other source-texts and styles. Moretti's conclusions are that the intertextual dimension created by using contemporary sources aims to appeal to readers familiar with the source-text (probably female readers), and that the reader could enjoy the gap between the original and its conveyed knowledge, and the sexual knowledge present in the rewriting. Therefore, Moretti's opinion is that this work was used together with classical educational books to also give expertise in sexual matters by enjoying the parody of the source-text.

The scholar who has explored most the field of *shunpon* rewritings is Gerstle. He focuses on the erotic rewritings of four educational works for women by the Osaka artist Tsukioka Settei 月岡雪鼎 (1726-1786).<sup>36</sup> Unlike the previous case of *Onna enshei*, Gerstle's analysis has shown that each of these texts is a parody of one specific text. Each work is parodied in the layout and images, and all texts resort to the use of a minimal parody, that is, a word-by-word parody. The result is the creation of a new entertaining text, where laughter is produced by the discrepancy between the original Confucian text and its parodied counterpart. In Gerstle's vision, the final intention of the author in doing so is to attack the mainstream Confucian ideology imposed by the bakufu government through these educational books.

In sum, it is possible to summarise the actual state of literature by saying that we can find a side-discourse (as in Moretti) and a counter-discourse (as in Gerstle). Though the main aims of these works so far are acknowledged as sexual use and satirical use only, this is probably not all we can say about the aims of texts in *shunpon*. Here, I argue that there is more to the rewritings and aims of *shunpon*, and that the connection with humour and the didactic nature of *shunpon* have been underestimated.

Particularly, some questions come to mind when approaching erotic rewritings. What works were most frequently rewritten? What is the reason why some works were particularly popular as source texts for rewriting? What were the aims of the authors in doing this? Who could enjoy these works? An examination of the techniques used in the rewritings is also needed. Finally, this analysis will try to determine how *shunpon* and the whole Edo period literary scene were connected. The research in this dissertation seeks not to provide definitive answers but to clarify essential concepts that shall prove useful to the understanding of Edo period art and literature.

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<sup>36</sup> See Gerstle 2011.



### 3. Defining terms

The present study will explore several areas of knowledge in Japanese early-modern art and literature that are still the object of lively debate. In particular, dealing with *shunpon* rewritings of earlier courtly literature means it is necessary to approach the terminology used at the time for rewritings (such as *mitate* 見立て, *fūryū* 風流 and *yatsushi* やつし), while recontextualising these terms in the realm of current scholarship. In the latter case, the definitions that must be approached are those of intertextuality and parody. The interpretation and appropriation of earlier cultural symbols is also related to the concepts of high-brow and popular, which in Japanese are understood through the *ga-zoku ron* 雅俗論.

But this is not all. An analysis of depictions of sexual acts requires attention to the current idea of pornography, a historical and charged term that appeared in Europe only recently, and the broader concept of ‘erotica’. During the Edo period, these notions merged with the concept of *kōshoku* in popular books, which will hitherto also be contextualised.

#### 3.1. Critical jargon 1: intertextuality

During the whole Edo period, the practice of reworking previous texts was widespread, not only in *shunpon*, but also in ukiyo-e and literature in general. When confronted with reworkings of earlier representations in early-modern Japan, we must deal with terms such as *mitate* (literally translated ‘viewed as’), *fūryū* (elegant or up-to-date, a word imported from China) or *yatsushi* (‘casual adaptation’).<sup>37</sup> These terms and their definitions have been the subject of lively debate among scholars.<sup>38</sup> In general, present ukiyo-e scholarship refers to *mitate* as pictures where a Japanese or Chinese classic is acted out by people in contemporary dress. Literature scholars prefer to use in this case the term *yatsushi*. Despite the lack of any iron-clad rule, I use here the term *mitate-e* to refer to pictures that update classical themes in a contemporary manner as in modern ukiyo-e scholarship, though agreeing that, in texts, *yatsushi* and *fūryū* (as their meaning came to be inextricably linked) implied more. Around the Genroku era in particular, they conveyed the idea that something (or someone) elevated was brought down to earth or in poverty, and the new contemporary setting was often that of the pleasure quarters.

This study, however, does not seek to approach the issue of terminology from the point of view of its use at the time. There are two possible directions that studies can take when

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<sup>37</sup> We can add to these terms also *imayō* 今様, *ukiyo* 浮世, and *fūzoku* 風俗.

<sup>38</sup> Clark 1997, Kokubungaku Kenkyū shiryōkan 2008, Haft 2013.

dealing with categorical terms.<sup>39</sup> One is what he calls the ‘emic’ approach, which implies the research of ‘vocabulary at use in the source culture’.<sup>40</sup> The other is the ‘etic’ approach, which involves the definition of vocabulary from the point of view of logical categories, without relation to historical usage. Since a wholly emic approach would imply the loss of relevance of the analysis outside the immediate historic context of the Edo period, the etic approach will be hereafter used. This means that, instead of discussing the meaning of terms such as *mitate* and *yatsushi* at the time, I discuss this from the point of view of parody and intertextuality.

With the term ‘intertextuality’, I refer to the definition given by Genette as “any relationship uniting a text B (the hypertext) to an earlier text A (the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary”.<sup>41</sup> Japanese Edo period literature shows features strictly fitting into the view proposed by the Russian formalists - particularly Shklovsky and Tynianov- that there are no literary works independent from a preceding tradition, and that there is no absolute originality, because “works of literature, after all, are built from systems, codes and traditions established by previous works of literature.”<sup>42</sup>

Indeed, in Japanese Edo-period literature, adaptation and appropriation were considered essential in the process of creating new texts.<sup>43</sup> The act of adapting an extant work entails a shift from the original source-text into a new text, which owes part of its content and structure to the source-text, but, thanks to the intervention of the author, can also become a new literary product. Sometimes, like in appropriation, it can be difficult to track down the source-text because the author does not just take the original and adapt it by changing its genre, historical context or characters, but uses the hypotext as a starting point for his own process of appropriation. In this case, it is more difficult to create expectation in the reader, because the appropriated text is not always as clearly signalled or acknowledged (as in the adaptive process which can be seen, for instance, in Japanese literature with the appropriation of texts of the Chinese tradition).<sup>44</sup>

Even when it is clearly signalled, parody is not necessarily meant to mock or attack, as with satire. Hutcheon suggests a useful distinction between parody and satire, stating that satire “unlike parody, is both moral and social in its focus and ameliorative in its intention”,<sup>45</sup> while:

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<sup>39</sup> Mostow 2010, p. 365.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Genette 1997, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Allen 2000, Introduction.

<sup>43</sup> Ogino refers to this in her article in *Parody no seiki*. Moretti reports that an Osaka bookseller that appears in *Genroku taiheiki* stated “to create the new out of the old is the behaviour of all famous writers.” See Moretti in *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, p. 402.

<sup>44</sup> Sanders 2006, p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> Hutcheon 1985, p. 16.

“Parody, therefore, is a form of imitation, but imitation characterized by ironic inversion, not always at the expense of the parodied text. ... Parody is, in another formulation, repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity. ... Ironic inversion is a characteristic of all parody... Similarly, criticism need not be present in the form of ridiculing laughter for this to be called parody”.<sup>46</sup>

Some critics acknowledge a certain degree of polemical intent in the parody towards the parodied work.<sup>47</sup> Scholars such as Hutcheon have rejected this perspective, however, affirming that it is possible to find “a more neutral or playful one, close to a zero degree of aggressivity toward either backgrounded or foregrounded text.”<sup>48</sup> Jauss, meanwhile, points out that “a parody or travesty can exploit the discrepancies between high and low on the level of either form or content in order to attack its object (which is mostly a text of authoritative standing) through critical imitation or to transform it into something new through an artistic heightening of the imitation”.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, it is even argued that parody can pay homage to the parodied text, as Tynyanov suggests that parody can be sympathetic to its target and that the material for it can be both respected and admired, citing the parodies of the Old Testament among Orthodox Jews or Pushkin’s parody of Karamzin’s *History of the Russian State*.<sup>50</sup>

The basic mechanism typical of parody is discrepancy, that is, humour produced by raising the expectation for X and giving Y. The concept of discrepancy, or comic incongruity, is the keystone to Rose's theory of parody. Rose takes this as a significant distinguishing factor in parody, stressing that “the controlled discrepancy or incongruity between the parodied text and its new context is also one of the chief sources of the comic effect which distinguishes the parody from other types of literary criticism”.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, in parody, a comic, amusing, or humorous effect is produced by the incongruity between the original and its parody, and the changes made by the parodist to the old text by its rewriting, or its juxtaposition with the new text, are signals that can help the reader decode the parodic nature of the work.

The quotation of a previous work by another reflects its position in literary history, which is constructed on the private inception and the public reception of the work. In this view, the historical essence of a work is not only understood by its expressive functions, but also by

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Dentith 2000, Bakhtin in Rose 1993.

<sup>48</sup> Hutcheon 1985, p. 61.

<sup>49</sup> Rose 1979, p. 172.

<sup>50</sup> Tynyanov demonstrates that Pushkin had a high regard for Karamzin’s *History of the Russian State* and also parodied it in his *Chronicle of the Village Goryukhino*, as he both admired and parodied the style of the *Iliad* and its Russian translations too. Rose 1993, p. 120.

<sup>51</sup> Rose 1993, p. 32.

its influence, through the interaction of author and public. A literary work should then be seen in its history, but also in literary history, theorised by Jauss as "the historical horizon of its origination, social function, and historical influence".<sup>52</sup> Parody has the function of reflecting the reception of the readership of literary texts (that is, their popularity), and internalizing and renewing the themes and stories it deals with by rewriting them, thus containing within itself elements of the tradition it supersedes. In other words, parody has the function of re-using "used-up" stylistic devices, giving new function and meaning to older texts.

### 3.2. Critical jargon 2: *ga-zoku ron* and humour

An important concept in the examination of the rewritings and appropriation of previous works during the Edo period is what is known as *ga-zoku ron*. This idea was first broached by Nakamura Yukihiro and it refers to the mixture and interaction of older, courtly aesthetics [*ga*] with modern, less refined values [*zoku*].<sup>53</sup> *Ga* refers to the high-brow culture of the elites, particularly the established masterpieces of previous art and literature, which mostly appeared during the Heian period. *Zoku* refers to the new culture created in modern times by ordinary people. Nakano Mitsutoshi has conducted influential studies on this concept.<sup>54</sup> After recognising that older values, *ga*, were considered superior during the Edo period, he theorised how new *zoku* culture expanded, coexisting in harmony with the previous tradition, a conception he calls 'reconciliation' (融和). In his view, while *ga* is characterised by dignity, *zoku* represents humanity and warmth.<sup>55</sup> *Ga* in Japanese literary history represents what is seen in parody theories as the 'high point' of a literary period, while *zoku* is what brings it down and stimulates the creation of new literary productions modelled on what had become a used-up genre.

When dealing with sexual representations of earlier literature, however, it is important to keep in mind that, by early-modern Japanese standards, sex itself was not necessarily 'zoku'. At that time, rather than topics, it was often the form that marked this division: highbrow texts written in kanji (or sometimes in katakana) and without pictures were usually considered more refined than illustrated works in hiragana.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, poetry was more dignified than prose, while Chinese classics were considered superior to Heian *monogatari*. In the description of the conciliation of *ga* and *zoku*, Nakano refers to humour (滑稽) as a distinguishing characteristic

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<sup>52</sup> Jauss 1982, p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> See Nakamura 1975.

<sup>54</sup> Nakano 1999 and 1994.

<sup>55</sup> Nakano 1999, pp. 2-26.

<sup>56</sup> See Imanishi 2013.

of *zoku*, while its didactic aim (教訓) is acknowledged as *ga*, so the coexistence of both in a work seems to be the exemplification of this reconciliation.<sup>57</sup>

Humour plays an essential role in theories about parody and the Japanese *ga-zoku ron*. In various approaches to humour, emphasis is usually put on the three most accepted theories: incongruity theories, superiority, theories, and release theories.<sup>58</sup> The first theory is particularly important for the definition of parody I gave here, but this investigation should not be limited to this. Instead, I refer to the work done by Propp, who divided humour into more discrete categories (such as ‘the physical sides of humans’, ‘the comic of similarity’ and ‘the comic of difference’, ‘comic exaggeration’, ‘duping’, etc.), leaving the analysis open to more possibilities that can cover the humorous variety seen in *shunpon*.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.3. Critical jargon 3: Erotic and pornographic

The terminology used during the Edo period to refer to erotica shows that the lines between erotica and pornography were blurred. The use of the term *kōshokubon* exemplifies this. This word itself does not distinguish between love-related or sensual contents and the sexually-explicit. Among the 241 entries with the term *kōshoku* in their title in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books, only 71 (29%) are classified as ‘*enpon*’, while the rest are labelled as ‘*ukiyo-zōshi*’ 浮世草紙 (books of the floating world), a generic term that refers to a group of vernacular fictional works that originated in the Kyoto-Osaka area and spanned a hundred-year period (from 1682 to 1783, according to modern literary classification).<sup>60</sup>

In addition, Hayashi demonstrates that in works identified with other genres (such as *ukiyo-zōshi*, *yomihon*, *kibyōshi*, etc.) sexually explicit contents were occasionally included as a part of the stories, and some *makura-e* illustrations are also found. Similarly, at the end of some books by the publisher Hachimonjiya, forthcoming *ukiyo-zōshi* by Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧 (1666-1735) were announced, together with actors’ critiques and erotic works.<sup>61</sup> This suggests that, back then, there was no clear distinction between generic love-centred works (today labelled as *kōshokubon* among *ukiyo-zōshi*) and sexually explicit *shunpon*. Thus, we can use the term *kōshokubon* to refer to books of popular prose that appeared between the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and

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<sup>57</sup> Nakano 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Attardo 2001, Carrol 2009.

<sup>59</sup> Propp 2009.

<sup>60</sup> Moreover, among the *shunpon* listed in Shirakura 2007, we can find 56 works whose title begins with *kōshoku*. It is interesting to note that only 16 out of these 56 *shunpon* were also listed in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books as ‘*enpon*’, while the other 40 titles are listed as *ukiyo-zōshi*, showing how even today the line between *shunpon* and other genres (such as *ukiyo-zōshi*) is blurred, and how their sexually explicit content is underestimated.

<sup>61</sup> Hayashi 1964, p. 30.

the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which focus mostly on love-related or sensual contents without necessarily being sexually explicit.<sup>62</sup>

Works known at the time as *kōshokubon* were greatly popular. In her study on booksellers' catalogues, Moretti gives a clear account of the situation of the genre of *kōshokubon* prior to the Kyōhō reforms. The support heading *kōshoku narabi rakuji* 好色並楽字 was introduced in the 1685 catalogue and appeared in the 1692 and 1699 catalogues. In the 1685 and 1699 catalogues, at the end of the category of erotic books, the text says: 'since there is a high number of *rakuji* I do not list them all'.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, Moretti suggests that this "testifies to the spread and popularity of the genre of erotic books in the second half of the seventeenth century".<sup>64</sup> Among the abovementioned *enpon* bearing the term *kōshoku* in their titles, 38 out of the 45 dated works were published between 1674 and 1711. Hence, we can then trace the golden age of *kōshokubon*, which ranges approximately from the 1680s to the 1720s (a true '*kōshoku* boom').

Erotic works were produced long after this period, but the ban of *kōshokubon* as a category in 1722 forced authors and publishers to use the abovementioned euphemistic terms to allude to erotica. If these books were considered "not good for public customs" (風俗の為にも宜しからず) and worried the government so much as to be prohibited, this proves that their diffusion was truly vast. But as Tinios points out: "Despite their status as banned books after 1722, publishers, artists, authors, block cutters, and printers persisted in producing printed erotica. The profits to be made outweighed the (mostly) slight risk of prosecution."<sup>65</sup> In fact, erotic works were never directly the object of censorship.<sup>66</sup> Since in Japan there were no moral or religious negative attitudes towards sex itself, as in Europe, its representation was not considered immoral but, rather, natural.<sup>67</sup>

In Europe, pornography has usually been considered a historical phenomenon, its emergence strongly associated with the spread of print culture, linked to the development of the novel in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and partially to the creation of an urban, capitalistic and middle-

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<sup>62</sup> Nakano Eizō attempted to give a definition of *kōshokubon* as: "a type of *ukiyo-zōshi* appeared in the Enpō and Tenna eras, and novels up to the Kyōhō era that were depicting various aspects of the life of common people mostly focusing on the Genroku era." He specifies that in a later period, with the publication of sex manuals and Hachimōnjiya books, these works moved to more straightforward sexual contents, but without making any distinction between these and what he calls *enpon*. Nakano 1988, pp. 74-76.

<sup>63</sup> Moretti 2012, pp. 199-308.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>65</sup> Tinios, *Shunga: Sex and Humor*.

<sup>66</sup> See Garcia Rodriguez 2011.

<sup>67</sup> On the contrary, in Europe explicitly erotic works often dealt with the censorship by authorities (as the famous ban of the engravings of sexual positions [I Modi] by Marcantonio Raimondi in 1524). Moreover, sex was often used as a vehicle for political satire, as it happened for instance in 18<sup>th</sup> century France.

class society. As such, pornography is considered a modern construct of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since the term itself makes its first English appearance in 1857. In *'Invention of pornography'*, Hunt recognises the existence of pornographic writings since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although not as a distinct category of written or visual representation but as an adjunct to something else. She defines pornography as "the explicit depiction of sexual organs and sexual practices with the aim of arousing sexual feelings".<sup>68</sup>

Hunt and other scholars have based this definition not only on content, but also on the author's intention, since they usually define pornography as material intended to sexually arouse. Another intent has been proposed by Wagner, whose definition of pornography is "the written or visual presentation in a realistic form of any genital or sexual behaviour with a deliberate *violation of existing and widely accepted moral and social taboos*".<sup>69</sup> In fact, these definitions of pornography presuppose not only representations of sexual acts, but also the reader's responses to those acts (amusement, arousal, etc.), based on social constructions of sexual morality. To study the Japanese case, the current definition of pornography is unhelpful, because of the stress on one aim only (sexual arousal) and on the idea of violation of taboos (which cannot be applied to early-modern Japan). Also, sexual explicitness itself does not necessarily mean pornographic. Therefore, I consider other concepts for my definition of pornography.

I apply in this study the methodological frames proposed by two scholars. The first one is proposed by Toulalan. Here, pornography is a 'type of representation' and not a genre.<sup>70</sup> In this view, these depictions of sex are not necessarily pornographic in the connotation mentioned above, since those definitions depended on the reaction that each reader might have. Toulalan gives medical and midwifery books in 18th century England as an apt example. They were not produced for masturbation and yet they were used as tools for sexual stimulation, since "how an artist or author ensures that a work invokes only the 'intended' response, however, is not entirely clear [...] Neither is it entirely clear how readers may have been certain of knowing an author's intention".<sup>71</sup> It is necessary, thus, to avoid judging the pornographic nature of a work a-historically, as a fixed characteristic, since the reaction to the representations of sex varies according to the society and/or the period in different ways. This makes pornography an open-ended process, as in an ongoing relation between author, text and reader,

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<sup>68</sup> Hunt 1993, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Wagner 1988, p. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Toulalan 2007.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

which can be adapted to the particularities of any society's system of moral judgements. This definition of pornography also leaves aside the interpretation of erotic feelings as necessarily negative, since the social expectation of sexual reproduction can make sexual pleasure a morally respectable aim too.

The second methodological frame adopted here is the concept of 'pornotopia', theorised by Marcus.<sup>72</sup> Pornotopia is "the imagination of the entire universe beneath the sign of sexuality". So, if literature "possesses a multitude of intentions, pornography is characterised by a singleness of intention." Pornographic writings imply the fantasy of sex, in itself a sort of utopia. In this imaginary sexual world, there is no real time, nor space. All the places depicted are never real places, they only exist so that a sexual act can happen. Similarly, in pornotopia most of the happenings are 'outside time', since here it is literally always bedtime. Nor is a real coherence in form required. While stories usually need a beginning, middle and end to work, pornographic stories need only an excuse to begin and continue, and end nowhere. This is because "pleasure is intended as endless," and "real gratification is not possible", so "the impulse ... to repeat, to repeat endlessly, is one of pornography's most striking qualities. A pornographic work of fiction characteristically develops by unremitting repetition and minute mechanical variation – the words that may describe this process are again, again, again, and more, more, more."<sup>73</sup>

Since pornographic depictions aim to reproduce non-verbal images, or fantasies that words cannot directly express, language becomes a bothersome necessity. Pornographic prose is characterised by clichés and stereotypical formulas. We must add to this that there are no real relations between human beings. This stands in contrast to other types of writing, which aim to represent the relations of human beings among themselves, their interactions and the complex reasons behind their behaviour, "pornography is not interested in persons but in organs".<sup>74</sup>

In pornography, genitals are not depicted as they are in real life, but see their function increased multiple times. People become their genitals, and men in particular become always-erect enormous penises. The penis here is an object possessing unlimited powers, a gigantic

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<sup>72</sup> Marcus 1970.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> This sounds close to another definition of pornography, which is said to have 'as a central intent and characteristic result, not only the stimulation of sexual feelings or fantasies in viewers, but the degradation, domination and depersonalization of what it depicts, usually women (...) and lacks any artistic intent'. Leaving aside the question of the 'artistic intent', we recognise in the interest in organs and mechanical depiction a certain degree of depersonalization (*The Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*).



‘object of worship’.<sup>75</sup> Women, too, will always react enthusiastically to men’s approaches with abundant sap and joy. People are always ready to have any kind of sex and are inexhaustible. Pornography is then the attempt to make tangible a fantasy that only exist in our heads, and to create a visual or written product that is meant to be sold, and then also commercial.<sup>76</sup> The representation of sex as ‘pornotopia’ must be present in a writing to label it as ‘pornography’, according to the present study.

Texts called *shunpon* or *enpon* today also encompass the realm of the erotic. The definition of erotic here is taken from Karen Harvey’s ‘*Reading sex in the 18th century*’, as depictions of "sex, bodies and desire through illusions of concealment and distance: bodies were represented through metaphor and suggestion, and depictions of sexual activity were characterized by deferral and silence. Despite these illusions, sexual pleasure and the sexual act were primary. Sex might be deferred until after the narrative closed, or it might be hidden by metaphor, but the reader was in little doubt that something took place or was going to take place".<sup>77</sup> Silence also plays an important role in what I define as erotic. Thanks to silence, it is the reader that imagines the sexual act after an allusion to sex has been given. Thus, erotic texts only hints at the possibility of the act, without depicting it.

#### **4. *Shunpon* rewritings: a history of reception**

Because this study is concerned with *shunpon* rewritings, it inevitably deals with the issue of canon. This is because the efficacy of a rewriting is based on the notoriety of the source-text. Accordingly, the order of the chapters is based upon a progression from rewritings that are very close to word-for-word, to adaptations whose connection to the source-text is minimal. At the same time, this dissertation does not take for granted the idea that each text was canonical as seen in literary history today, and questions the assumption that these source-texts are all canonical in the same way.

Before being admitted into a canon, a literary work must in fact undergo a rather unique process, which differs across the literary landscape, and varies according to texts, periods and context. Canon originates from the way a work is interpreted by the first generation of readers, but presupposes a critical revision of this previous reception. The process of canonisation is an ongoing process that reinterprets different functions of a work according to the needs of

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<sup>75</sup> Marcus 1970, p. 272.

<sup>76</sup> The idea of pornographic literature as ‘the commercial suggestion of physical attraction’ has been proposed by M.G. Profeti, who defines erotic literature as ‘the direct suggestion of physical attraction’, burlesque literature as ‘the playful suggestion of physical repulsion’ and obscene/satirical literature as ‘the moralist use of physical repulsion’. See Profeti 1992.

<sup>77</sup> Harvey 2004, p. 33.

successive generations of readers. Recently, scholars in Japanese Studies have questioned the static nature of this process, and showed its shifting traits.<sup>78</sup> This demonstrates that some of the works that form the ‘Japanese literary canon’ today were chosen for their ability to perform specific functions, in particular to represent Japanese literature as conforming to the relatively recently imported Western literary standards.

The selection of case-studies is based on this idea that the literary classification hitherto adopted is connected to the ‘invention’ of a national Japanese literary tradition, and that what was popular and read back in the Edo period differed from the present canon. This dissertation is the first attempt, however, to use texts in *shunpon* as a key to understand what readers during the Edo period appreciated, and how they perceived earlier literature. It also considers other aspects, such as the juxtaposition of text and pictures, the role of sex and the materiality of the book to provide some insights into the connection between sex and humour, developments in the publishing trade and the circulation of knowledge.

Considering these main points, this dissertation is structured as follows. In Chapter 1, I focus on two *shunpon* rewritings that adapt the 1681 *Meijo nasake kurabe*. In doing so, I explore how the existence of these two titles shows that *Meijo nasake kurabe* was a well-known, canonical reading in the late 17th century. I identify a word-by-word parody of the source text that plays with making sex explicit where it was left unsaid. I also study the inclusion of humour in the presence of short narratives that are not necessarily sexually explicit. Chapter 2 addresses the two 18<sup>th</sup>-century *shunpon* rewritings of *Makura no sōshi*. The first part of the chapter investigates the texts related to *Makura no sōshi* that appeared until the mid-18th century, and how they caused a shift in the interpretation of the Heian-period text already before the publication of the *shunpon*. Particularly, I look at works published for a male readership at the end of the 17th century, such as courtesan critiques, and at the illustrated and abridged edition of *Makura no sōshi* published in 1741. Chapter 3 starts by exploring how *Ise monogatari* came to be interpreted during the Edo period, particularly in relation to its protagonist. It then analyses the phases in the interpretation that the source-text underwent. The analysis starts with an erotic rewriting that rewrites the text almost verbatim, and moves to tropes in illustrated miscellaneous works. Later, it follows the re-use of its protagonist in a variety of popular (*zoku*) works, such as sex manuals and long narrative prose texts. Some of these narrative texts were also strictly linked to the literary trope of the bean-man, which is analysed in relation to its connection with *Ise monogatari*. Finally, Chapter 4 follows the

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<sup>78</sup> Shirane and Suzuki 2000.

progression of *Genji monogatari*'s rewritings in erotic texts from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 19th century. Although *Genji monogatari* is now considered the most influential Japanese text in world literature, this chapter reconsiders its position during the Edo period, also in relation to digests and commentaries. It first examines two erotic rewritings which appeared at the end of the 18th century and a *shunpon* which appeared in 1829, that show interest in knowledge of the narratives of the *monogatari*. After the publication of the sought-after re-adaptation *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* in the 19th century, a possible connection with this text and its relationship with later *shunpon* is also explored. In the last part, the relation of *shunpon* rewritings and waka from *Genji monogatari* and the practice of shell-matching are considered.

## Chapter One

### Making explicit what was implicit: *Meijo nasake kurabe* as a source for *shunpon*

In this chapter, I examine the case of *Meijo nasake kurabe* 名女情比 (Famous Women: Comparison of Affections, 1681) and its two *shunpon* rewritings. The first rewriting is *Genji on-iro asobi* 源氏御色遊 (Genji's Erotic Pursuits), with a preface dated 1681, and illustrated by Yoshida Hanbei. A *kaidai-bon* 改題本 (re-issued re-titled edition) called *Kōshoku hana susuki* 好色花すゝき (Erotic Flowering Grasses) was published in Kyoto in 1705. The second rewriting is *Kōshoku meijo makura* 好色名女枕 (Erotic Pillows of Famous Women), published in 1686, which is the only signed and dated work of Shimomura Shichirōbei 志茂村七郎兵衛 (an ukiyo-e illustrator active in Osaka in the 1680s).

A few studies on *Meijo nasake kurabe* were published in Japan, mostly from the 1960s to the '80s.<sup>79</sup> Richard Lane also introduced part of the contents of this work in English.<sup>80</sup> Overall, though, *Meijo nasake kurabe* is usually considered a minor work. Facsimile of *Genji on-iro asobi* and *Kōshoku hana susuki* with a brief introduction were published in 1979, while only a few references to *Genji on-iro asobi* as a rewriting of *Genji monogatari* are found in an article in English published in 2005.<sup>81</sup> There are no studies on *Kōshoku meijo makura*. The only data on this work appeared in the catalogue of the collection holding the only extant copy.<sup>82</sup> Until now, these two *shunpon* have never been linked to *Meijo nasake kurabe*.<sup>83</sup>

In this chapter, I first define the features of the source-text, and whether it can be considered something other than an educational work for women. I show this by outlining its dissimilarities with other texts in this category. Then, I analyse both text and pictures of the first rewriting, *Genji on-iro asobi*, to explore how the source-text was transformed to include sexually explicit contents. Finally, I move the examination to *Kōshoku meijo makura*, to see how different intertextual techniques are applied to the rewriting of the same text.

The aim of this analysis is to answer the following questions. What kind of rewritings of *Meijo nasake kurabe* do we have? How do they use the source-text? Can we identify different rewriting techniques used, and how do they work? What does the presence of two rewritings of the same source-text show? What is the aim of each rewriting, and do they have a targeted readership? And finally, what do they say about the *shunpon* panorama of the time?

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<sup>79</sup> See Asakura in *Mikan kanazōshi-shū to kenkyū*, Noda 1978 and 1986, Aoyama 1982, Chen 2014.

<sup>80</sup> See Lane 1957.

<sup>81</sup> Lane 1979, Kornicki 2005.

<sup>82</sup> Izzard 2008. *Kōshoku meijo makura* is mentioned also by Asano 2013 in “*Shunga: Sex and Pleasure*”, p. 114.

<sup>83</sup> This work was linked with *Genji on-iro asobi* for the first time in Bugno 2017.

## 1. *Meijo nasake kurabe*: educational work for women or erotic book?

### a) Current position of *Meijo nasake kurabe* in literary history

*Meijo nasake kurabe* was published in Kyoto in the spring of the ninth year of 1681. The author signed the preface as Rakuyōdō no Kōshokuken 洛陽堂好色軒.<sup>84</sup> The publishers of this work were Seo Genpei 瀬尾源兵衛 and Honda Jihee 本多次兵衛. Thanks to the information in the colophon, it has been argued that this work was reprinted at least three times.<sup>85</sup> This already suggests that, although *Meijo nasake kurabe* is not considered a major work today, it may have experienced notable popularity among readers.

*Meijo nasake kurabe* is a collection of short stories made up of 5 books and 5 volumes, for a total of 34 stories (7 stories in volume one; 8 in volume two, 6 stories in the third. The fourth and fifth volumes consist of 6 and 7 stories, respectively). At the beginning, there is a preface and a lengthy dialogue (called *Genji Narihira koi no hyōban* 源氏業平恋の評判, On the love reputation of Genji and Narihira). The title *Meijo nasake kurabe* is the same in every book, except for the fifth, where it becomes *Yūjo nasake kurabe* 遊女情比 (Courtesans: Comparisons of Affection). Unlike its preceding four books, the fifth book contains a further preface (後序).

According to the classification still in use in Japan for early-modern literature, all the texts published in Japan between 1600 and 1682 are classified as *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 (kana booklets). The only trait this corpus of texts share is to be written with a mix of easily comprehensible kana and Chinese characters, and to have been produced in the Edo period, before the publication of Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (The Life of an Amorous Man, 1682). For this reason, despite the diverse nature of the texts published during these eighty years, all this heterogeneous literary production (including *Meijo nasake kurabe*) has so far been grouped under this label. However, as has been argued, the classification of *kanazōshi* itself “is actually no more than an anachronistic concept formulated in the Meiji period and uncritically inherited by literary historians up to the present day”.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the year of publication *per se* does not say much about the nature of this text.

Under the label of *kanazōshi*, Japanese scholars have identified three categories. In the case of *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the most ‘suitable category’ is considered that of educational

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<sup>84</sup> The name Kōshokuken or Kōshokudō 好色堂 appears in various texts between 1681 and 1688.

<sup>85</sup> The first reference to *Meijo nasake kurabe* is in a publisher catalogue (*Zōeki shojaku mokuroku* 増益書籍目録) in 1683, where the publishers are Seo and Honda, and this was probably the first edition. After this, Asakura pointed out that a later copy preserved at the Tenri collection is a second edition (二版), and in the following publisher catalogue in 1696 we can find mention of the third reprint (since the publisher Honda is substituted by Hiranoya Sahei 平野屋佐兵衛). See Asakura in *Mikan kanazōshishū to kenkyū*.

<sup>86</sup> Moretti 2011.

works for women (女性教訓書), solely because some of its protagonists are shared with previous educational works for women, a stance I will challenge below.<sup>87</sup> In particular, two *jokunsho* have a few stories in common: *Ominaeshi monogatari* 女郎花物語 (1655, Tales of the Maiden Flower, attributed to Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 [1624-1705]) and *Honchō jōkan* 本朝女鑑 (1661, Models of Women of Our Country, attributed to Asai Ryōi 浅井了意, 1612-1691). In total, 7 protagonists out of 34 in *Meijo nasake kurabe* are shared with *Ominaeshi monogatari*, and 12 with *Honchō jōkan*.

These two works may be included among educational works for women, in the traditional meaning of texts that instruct in how to be a good wife and daughter-in-law, and where the main virtue demanded is that of submission to the father, husband and parents-in-law. In *Ominaeshi monogatari*, all stories are followed by a part clearly explaining Confucian (mostly) or Buddhist precepts aimed at women, like the above-mentioned submission to men or praise of the faithful and virtuous woman. In *Honchō jōkan*, the narrative style is unadorned, and stories principally summarise the life and characteristics of each woman, without providing any direct Confucian teaching. Nonetheless, the titles of the 12 volumes themselves reveal the didactic intent of the text. These are, in order: volume one and two, wisdom (賢明); volume three and four, intelligence (仁知); volume five and six, morality (節儀); volume seven and eight, chastity (貞行); volume nine and ten, consistency (弁通). The last two volumes are titled *Onna shiki* 女式 (Regulations for Women) and simply list precepts and rules that women should follow. In *Meijo nasake kurabe*, even when they present a woman that appeared in these two earlier *jokunsho*, stories put the focus on other aspects, as we shall see below. My stance is that, rather than considering it as an educational work for women, *Meijo nasake kurabe* shares a nature similar to contemporaneous *kōshokubon*.

#### **b) *Meijo nasake kurabe* as a *kōshokubon***

There are several elements that put *Meijo nasake kurabe* in relation to *kōshokubon*. For instance, in recent years, another work has been linked to *Meijo nasake kurabe*.<sup>88</sup> This work, titled *Kōshoku sode kagami* 好色袖鑑 (1682, Small Guidebook to Sensuality), is a dialogue about sensuality and love in three volumes. Two men discuss types of love affairs, the nature of love and how to behave in a relationship.<sup>89</sup> As has been argued, *Kōshoku sode kagami* shares

<sup>87</sup> *Meijo nasake kurabe* was considered as *jokunsho* in Noda 1962, Asakura 1960, Watanabe 1985, Aoyama 1982, in vol. 74 of SNKBT by Watanabe, in vol. 90 of NKBT by Morita. The only exception is in Lane 1957, where this work is classified in the category of ‘courtesans in fiction’, a rather extreme classification since the contents of the first four books have no relation whatsoever with courtesans.

<sup>88</sup> Chen 2013.

<sup>89</sup> A facsimile and complete transcription of this work are in Yoshida 1968.

many similarities with *Meijo nasake kurabe* (theme, same conception of love, use of identical expressions in some parts). This even led Chen to suggest that these two works may have been written by the same author (who signed the preface of *Kōshoku sode kagami* as *Kōshokudō nani no nanigashi* 好色堂何の何氏 - very similar to the signature *Kōshokuken* in *Meijo nasake kurabe*). However, unlike *Meijo nasake kurabe* and despite having been published shortly before *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, this work is classified as ‘*ukiyoōshi*’.<sup>90</sup> Even without necessarily acknowledging that the author of both works is the same, the existence of a work this similar – that is considered as an ‘*ukiyoōshi*’ – suggests that *Meijo nasake kurabe* can be viewed in the same manner.

A few textual elements also allow us to recognise a *kōshokubon* in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. Namely, I shall focus on the clues given in the paratext, on the presence of a remarkable number of courtesans, depicted in a different manner from educational texts and inherited by other *kōshokubon*, and more generally on the way in which women are portrayed. First is the paratext. The contents of the preface and the dialogue about the affection of Prince Genji and Ariwara no Narihira suggest the intention of the author to talk about human feelings and love, rather than teach Confucian or Buddhist precepts. The long preface of *Meijo nasake kurabe* (3 folio-long) begins by reminding the reader of the *kanajo* of *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集, and then moves to an allusion to section 23 of *Ise monogatari*.<sup>91</sup>

What is called **affection** (情) is not limited to the **way of love** (恋路). Both flowers blooming in spring and leaves turning red in autumn are the **affection** of heaven and earth. As human beings, there is nobody who does not have **affection**. Are there any small children who, looking at the bottom of a well, would not feel any danger? This is human feeling possessed by people. Despite this, the ancients have warned that men are driven by greed, are mastered by anger and envy people.

Then, it continues with a description of the relationship between men and women, which ‘is truly the way of love’.

Well, the **fate of men and women** (男女のなからひ) is truly the **way of love**. **Love** (恋) is really something wonderful! To endure a situation that is often hard to bear and [to endure] something hard to stand is only [possible] because [people] think about **passion** (色). Since in elegant **passion** there is something easy to love, only after catching a glimpse [of the person] for the first time, the **heart** becomes absorbed (心をやつし). Also, when hearing from others about the elegance and condition [of this person], [lovers] mutually reach out to each other (思ひをかはし), or they write letters on paper coloured as the autumn leaves, they ask a mediator, and asking (this) is like the walking stick for the old.

<sup>90</sup> It is listed as *ukiyoōshi* in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, but has also been inserted in *Kōshokumono sōshishū* (Yoshida 1968).

<sup>91</sup> I used the transcription of *Meijo nasake kurabe* in *Mikan kana zōshishi-shū to kenkyū*, edited by Asakura, pp. 79-180.

It should be noted here that the author uses the term ‘*iro*’, literally ‘colour’. This word also has the meaning of lust or sensuality, and was used with this nuance in the Edo period.<sup>92</sup> After this, there is a description of how lovers start meeting, and how love can become heart-breaking, particularly when the relationship becomes known and families oppose it. In this part, we can recognise three quotations from *Tsurezuregusa* and one from *Ise monogatari*. The passages taken from *Tsurezuregusa* are from sections 3, 9 and 37, all parts dedicated to the description of love-making.

So, they establish an emotional bond. Gradually, when their hearts **awake to passion** (色づく), to prevent the reproof of the parents and public criticism, they are at a loss, with no time for the heart to rest, and worried. Also, bewailing the pain of not being able to meet, they sleep alone, and they regret this happens as often as snipes smooth their quills [very often]. They send their **heart** to clouds far away; in a desolate house where cogon grass has grown in abundance, they lay out one sleeve of their kimono damp (of tears) [they sleep sadly alone]. They think “if [I am with] you, why would I need a splendid palace? I would even (stay) in a shabby house full covered in cracks”.

Besides, if guided by someone [the loved one], they would come and go from a hole in the tile-roof. After the rumour spread among the people, they would tell about the parting even to wild geese in the sky, and **the morning after** 後朝, saying “see you again sooner or later”, they would secretly depart in **the parting ways of the day after [sleeping together]**. Needless to say, this [parting] worries them terribly. Thus, [the reason why] strong warriors become weaker and weaker, and cold-hearted people too realise how transient this floating world can be, is because of this **affection**.

Then, there is the quotation of the poem:

*Were one never to love, neither could such a one possess affection,  
for only through love can we comprehend human feeling.*<sup>93</sup>

This is a poem by Fujiwara Shunzei in his collection *Chōshūeisō* 長秋詠藻 (n. 351 - about 1178-1204), but the term ‘heart’ is substituted with ‘affection’.

According to this preface, it is thanks to the way of love that some people, who misbehaved in the past, recognise their bad conduct, change their path and sometimes even decide to take vows. This is the only relation with Buddhism we find in this preface.

It is thanks to this way that [human beings] know **affection** and hate heart-breaking things. People cheat and commit crimes to live. Insomuch as they understand that what they are doing is bad, they are not in the way of truth. But when they become absorbed in the **way of love**, even if they have been unfilial, they turn back again and put on a thick black robe [take vows]. Eventually, they start aspiring to the real way, and there are many examples of this now and in the past. Does not **love** start thanks to the **way of affection**?

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<sup>92</sup> The third meaning listed in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* for *iro* is “principally, the feeling of attraction to the other sex, the sentiment of love. In premodern Japan, it principally referred to love that implied sexual relationships”.

<sup>93</sup> Translation of poem from *Chōshūeisō* in Harper-Shirane 2015.



Still, **this way of love** is capricious, and it hates exactly how things change so easily. Exchanging thoughts wholeheartedly, [lovers] promise that, as the waves would never pass over Sue-no-Matsu Mountain, so would their love never change, and this will last not only for this life, but in the next one too they will be in love.

The author concludes, stating his intent:

Since I want to transmit models of love, I have collected [stories about] the **affection** of well-known ladies, and given [to this book] the name ‘Famous Women: Comparison of Affection’.

As may already be clear, the strong Buddhist flavour or reference to Confucian precepts we would expect in an educational work appear remarkably weak here, being almost reduced to traditional rhetoric associated with the way of love. That is, the reason to enter the way of Buddhism is not true religious aspiration, but the result of an unfulfilled love, considered here the strongest of powers.

*Meijo nasake kurabe* is also described as a collection of ‘models of love’ stories. This concept is labelled as *nasake*, *koiji* and *iro*, concepts that are undoubtedly the focus of the whole work. Particularly, we have seen that the term ‘*iro*’ hints at lust and sensuality, so we are informed that the way of love here is not limited to the romantic aspect, but also potentially includes the physical sphere. The allusion to the nights spent together by the lovers, and to the painful parting the day after, for example, allude to the sexual side of love relationships. In many cases, we come across expressions such as ‘*chigiru*’, that can be interpreted as romantic but can also have a reference to sexual intercourse.<sup>94</sup> Also, couples are often described as ‘sleeping together’. The reader is left to imagine what the two might have done during the night spent together. The preface reflects the major themes developed in all the stories: no longer female loyalty, filial piety, devotion or chastity, but a full enjoyment of all the aspects of the ‘way of love’. I argue that this exploitation of all the facets of love is already erotic. The result is that the conversion into something more sexual could be achieved quite easily.

After the preface, in the long dialogue (問答) titled ‘On the love reputation of Genji and Narihira’, two lechers (好き者) discuss the nature of the affection of the most famous amorous men at the time, Ariwara no Narihira and Prince Genji. The beginning of this dialogue reads:

We write here the discussion that two lechers once had on the love of Prince Genji and Narihira.

One of them said: How would the love of Genji or Narihira be better or worse? First, their rank was not ordinary, Genji being the child of an abdicated Emperor and Narihira the grandchild of Heizei Emperor.

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<sup>94</sup> The third meaning given by the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* for *chigiru* is: “the bind of a physical relation between men and women” 男女が肉体関係を結ぶ. One of the two examples quoted comes from *Kōshoku sode kagami*. This reinforces the possibility that the same word is used in *Meijo nasake kurabe* with a sexual nuance.

These two men both excelled in poetry, and had attractive features. Prince Genji was so attractive that all women wanted to look at him, and as it is written in *Genji monogatari*, he was praised as the ‘Shining Prince’. On the other side, the beautiful appearance of Narihira was incomparable. This is also recorded in the text of [*Nihon*] *Sandai jitsuroku*. How would the affection of one of them be better? (this person said).

At this point, the other replies that Narihira was the one who really knew love deeply, because Genji was ‘but an amorous man’ (たゞひとすぢの色好). The first example given is the episode in Wakamurasaki. At that time, Murasaki was still a child, so young that she could not even read the poem Genji sent her. This shows how Genji did not consider her young age, focusing only on his own lust. The second example the man gives is the love story with Fujitsubo, which he describes in negative terms since she was Genji’s mother-in-law. He also mentions that they had a secret son, who was believed to be the Emperor’s son. He concludes saying that a person who really knows love would never do something similar.

The Genji defender then replies that Narihira was equally lecherous, and as an example he cites his secret love with the High Priestess of Ise, which was against the rules of gods. As a result, Narihira cannot be considered less lustful than Genji. Hence, the other person replies that the real affection of Narihira exceeds that of Genji because of the episode of Tsukumogami, when Narihira accepts the invitation of an old woman who was madly in love with him. In another case too, the man says, he visited a young girl who was in love with him but critically ill. The real virtue of Narihira is to be able to show sympathy without distinction to the people he liked, or he did not love (御心に思ふをも。おもはぬをも。けぢめなく情をかけ給ひし。中将の性得これなり). This is the real affection of the way of love. To show affection to attractive people only is not the real affection (情をしり給ふにあらず). In this sense, the man adds, Genji is even worse, quoting the episode of Suetsumuhana, when the Prince made fun of the big red nose of the Princess of Hitachi. His affection is then inferior to Narihira’s (これ業平におとり給ふなさけなり). After this debate, the author concludes, saying that this conception of love should not be limited to Genji and Narihira, but should be the same for all men and women.

This dialogue is quite long (4 and a half folios). It also comprises an illustration, depicting a ‘*kaimami*’ (lit. peeping through a hole) scene, when the man takes a glimpse of a woman. This kind of scene was recurrent in Heian literature, but this picture looks similar to the illustration of the Wakamurasaki chapter in *Genji monogatari*, (as confirmed by the attire of one of the women, who is dressed like Murasaki’s aunt, the nun, and the presence of the bird released by another girl on the left-hand page). The Wakamurasaki chapter was one of the

central and most well-known love scenes of *Genji monogatari*, reinforcing the impression that its reuse in *Meiji nasake kurabe* is because this is a love-centred work.<sup>95</sup>

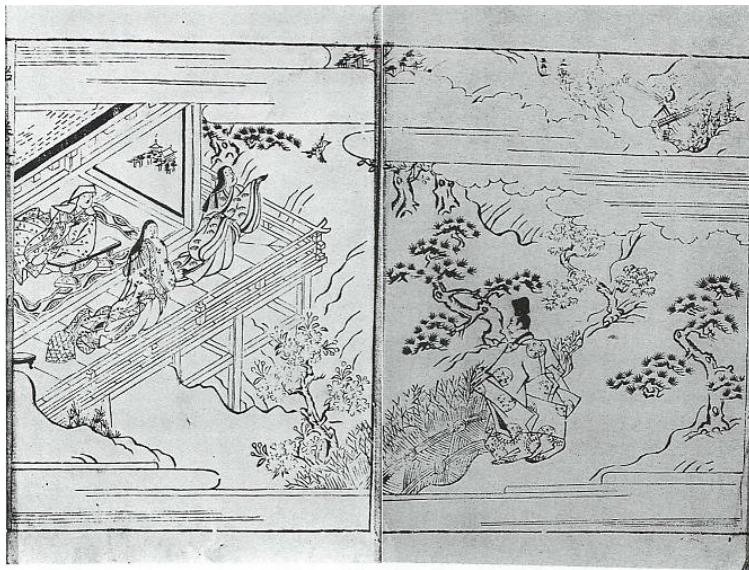


Figure 1 *Meiji nasake kurabe - Genji Narihira koi no hyōban* (6v-7r)

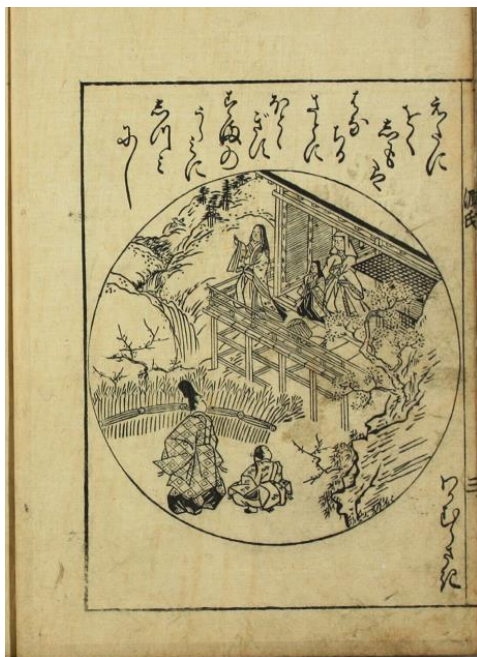


Figure 2 *Genji Yamato-e kagami - Wakamurasaki* (vol. 1-4v)

The intention of the author to write about love is stated again in the addendum (後序) to the fifth book, which starts with a reference to the preface of *Kokinwakashū*.<sup>96</sup>

**Love** is a way that originates from the **heart**. Therefore, even if grains of sand may finish, words about love will never do. So, to describe with superficial words such a deep **affection**, is rather like making it shallow. It is like loving the flower too much while letting the root die. To write half-heartedly is rude, but

<sup>95</sup> The most similar depiction in terms of characters (gestures, clothes) is in the later *Genji Yamato-e kagami* (1685). The same perspective in a previous work is in the 1654 version of *Eiri Genji monogatari*.

<sup>96</sup> Transcription in *Mikan kanazōshi-shū to kenkyū*, p. 162.

I would like this [book] to be kindly taken as entertainment for children. I based [this] on the deep more than the shallow, and I thought it would be earnest if you could rely on this source. So, I somehow wrote these badly-written words.

In the first part, I listed admirable people. It is not without great hesitation that in this book I write even about humble prostitutes. Then, this is not something that will not [attract] the scorn of people. Nonetheless, in this way where the heart comes and goes, there is no distinction between noble and low. So, I have only written with the intent to guide to the true **affection**. You, readers, will indeed understand this intent, and forgive me my stupid faults.

It should be clear by now that love is offered as the focus of the whole work. And love is connected to the concept of ‘*nasake*’, used in all its nuances - such as pity, sympathy, compassion but above all love, affection, romance and passion.<sup>97</sup> All the paratextual elements lead the reader to expect from this book a collection of love stories.

### c) Differences with *jokunsho*

The second difference between *Meijo nasake kurabe* and other contemporary educational works for women regards the contents of the stories, particularly the proportion and description of courtesans in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. This is the first work to have a whole book dedicated to them, although stories of courtesans were not completely absent from the two previous *jokunsho*. In *Meijo nasake kurabe* the ratio of stories of prostitutes to the total number of protagonists increases dramatically. There are 7 stories of courtesans out of a total of 34 (20%). In *Ominaeshi monogatari*, the total number of stories of Japanese women is 50 (plus 5 stories of Chinese women), and there are only 2 stories about prostitutes of Kamakura-Muromachi Japan, Yūjo miyagi 遊女宮城 and Eguchi myō 江口妙 (3.6%). In *Honchō jōkan*, the same two prostitutes of *Ominaeshi monogatari* are included, plus Tora Gozen 虎御前 (1175-1245), which means 3 stories out of a total of 84 (3.5%).

Similarly, the way in which prostitutes are described in *jokunsho* and *Meijo nasake kurabe* is different, like in the episodes of Eguchi myō and Yūjo miyagi. The case of Eguchi myō is particularly emblematic, because it helps us to understand how the author of the previous *jokunsho* managed to include stories of prostitutes to teach Buddhist precepts. Eguchi myō, in fact, was already considered a Bodhisattva before the beginning of the Edo period. This is due to the episode in *Saigyō monogatari* 西行物語 (Tales of Saigyō, 1118-1190), where

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<sup>97</sup> According to the entry about *nasake* in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, the term *nasake* has been used since the Heian period. The first meaning found in *Genji monogatari* is human feeling; the second meaning is sympathy, consideration; the third is refined taste (雅心), elegance, refinement (the ability of understanding moods or artistic effects) from *Ise monogatari* (101); the fourth is *omomuki* 趣, which means appearance, taste, elegance; the fifth meaning is taken from *Meijo nasake kurabe* (book 5) and is the **feeling of men and women to attract each other**, awakening of love (恋心), and affection (愛情). Finally, the last meaning from *Uraminosuke* 恨之介 is **love-making, passion** (恋愛, 情事, 色事).

the figure of Eguchi is related to the poem that Saigyō composed when he asked this woman, a local prostitute, for shelter from a downpour. She refused because she did not want to tempt him with an act that could have brought him outside the way of Buddhism, saying "I won't have someone such as yourself stay here." For this, Saigyō wrote the famous poem:

*Hard it must be, to tire completely, of the world's ways,  
if you are loath to offer, even a moment's lodging!*

Whereupon the courtesan called him back and gave him this response:

*I only thought, since I hear you're one, tired of the world,  
not to have your heart seek, a moment'.<sup>98</sup>*

Later, Eguchi was compared to a Bodhisattva thanks to this episode. This narrative was so famous in poetry that it became mainstream also in *jokunsho*. Eguchi is presented as the embodiment of Buddhist precepts, justifying her presence in educational works for women, but the lack of love-related contents puts her at odds with the tone of *Meijo nasake kurabe*.

Tora Gozen 虎御前 is the only courtesan featured both in *Meijo nasake kurabe* and in *Honchō jōkan*. In the *jokunsho*, her story accurately follows the original version in *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語 (The Tale of the Soga Brothers, 13<sup>th</sup> century), and Tora is praised because after the death of her lover Soga Jūrō 曾我十郎, she took vows and prayed for Jūrō until her death. In this sense, she is not only depicted as an example of a chaste woman (貞女), but her decision to take vows and dedicate her life to prayer also makes her a model in Buddhist terms. In *Meijo nasake kurabe* the story is changed in some parts, most notably with the introduction of the character Wada no Yoshimori 和田義盛 (1147-1213). In this version, the rich and powerful Yoshimori is said to have courted Tora with the approval of her mother, but rebelling against her family's will, she prefers to stay faithful to her real love Jūrō. No reference to this episode is found in *Soga monogatari*, suggesting that the author added this intentionally. In *Meijo nasake kurabe*, going against the wishes of her mother, Tora acts unfilially, a severe misbehaviour for women according to the Confucian system of thought. In the text, we also find reference to the relationship between the two lovers, where we are informed that "Tora, truly took this intention [Jūrō's intention of getting revenge for his father] to heart, so the two exchanged love vows" とらは、この心をひとすぢに思ひ入れて、契るなり. As we have seen, 'chigiru' can mean to pledge love to the beloved one, but it can also refer to the act of establishing a sexual relationship. Moreover, Tora is praised at least five times in the story for her deep affection, which was "not inferior to anyone, despite being a prostitute" たとへ、なが

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<sup>98</sup> Translation of the poems in the complete translation of *Saigyō monogatari* in Heldt 1997. About later representation of Eguchi, see also Clark 2000.

れたつるとも、心は誰におとらめ “a compassion that is not inferior to that of a bodhisattva” ぼさつの慈悲にもおとる事なし, etc. Thus, not only does the atmosphere revert to the sphere of the erotic (as suggested by their ‘exchange of vows’ – *chigiru*), but she is also seen as the embodiment of affection.

The treatment of modern courtesans’ stories in *Meijo nasake kurabe* is also new. For example, in the story of Yoshino the second 吉野二代 (1606-1643, courtesan of the early Kyoto Rokujō Misuji pleasure quarter, 1620's), a master-less samurai is madly in love with this courtesan, one of the most famous of her time.<sup>99</sup> He saves money to meet her, and when they have a rendezvous, he confesses his love, but she does not take him seriously. To prove his love, she puts a bright ember on his thigh, but he just smiles, so she understands his love is true. After that, she even sends him funds on which to live. This episode has probably inspired the episode in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* featuring Yoshino, which is similar in contents. No similar stories can be found before this in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. In the narration about Komurasaki 濃紫 (*tayū* of Edo Yoshiwara, 1670's), a samurai is her most intimate client. On his master’s order, he goes to collect a valuable letter, which he drops on the way back, being then imprisoned for this negligence. Komurasaki hears in Yoshiwara that somebody found the letter and is selling it, so she buys it at a very high price and sends it to the samurai, saving his life. This story about Komurasaki can be found only in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. These examples show the difference in the way of dealing with stories of prostitutes. If in *jokunsho* they helped other people follow the Buddhist way, in *Meijo nasake kurabe* they use their money, the most important thing for them, to save these men (except for in two stories, all episodes in book five are related to money). In these years it was common to link courtesans to money (since official pleasure quarters began to exist at the beginning of the Edo period), so this treatment in *Meijo nasake kurabe* occurred often in several later *ukiyo-zōshi*.

Strengthening the point made here that *Meijo nasake kurabe* treats courtesans in a new manner, akin to *kōshokubon*, is the realisation that these women feature also in *kōshokubon*, or in literature deeply linked to them, such as “courtesans’ literature” (*yūjo hyōbanki* 遊女評判記 – courtesan critiques – and *showake hidensho* 諸分秘伝書 – guides to connoisseurship). Indeed, these women were all from contemporary times, sometimes still active when *Meijo nasake kurabe* appeared (except for the aforementioned Tora). The courtesans in questions are Yoshino the second and Komurasaki (Yoshiwara, about 1670) that we have already seen, and Yachiyo 八千代 (Shimabara, b.1635), Kumoi 雲井 (Shinmachi, d. about 1670), Yūgiri 夕霧

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<sup>99</sup> A translation of this story is available in Lane 1957.

(Shinmachi, d.1678), and Yoshino (Shimabara, d. about 1670). In total, 4 protagonists out of 7 appear in 4 different *yūjo hyōbanki*.<sup>100</sup> Three of them became characters of three *kōshokubon*. A further 2 are the protagonists of later plays.<sup>101</sup> In total, then, all the modern courtesans of *Meijo nasake kurabe* (6) also feature in *yūjo hyōbanki*, kabuki or *kōshokubon*. Although it is possible to guess that the author tried to exploit the popularity of contemporary courtesans, this enhances the idea that this work was not supposed to teach moral precepts to women of the time.

#### d) Translations and analysis of selected passages

*Meijo nasake kurabe* also depicts protagonists that are not courtesans and stories shared with previous texts in a way different from contemporaneous *jokunsho*. I have listed in the table below the names of the protagonists of these four books of *Meijo nasake kurabe*, and I have compared them to the stories in common with the two *jokunsho*.

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<sup>100</sup> Yoshino II and Yachiyo's stories are in the *yūjo hyōbanki Tōgenshū* 桃源集 (Stories of the Shangri-la Paradise on Earth, 1655) and *Naniwa monogatari* 難波物語 (Tales of Naniwa, 1655); they are also in the part written in *kanbun* (Chinese writing) *Fusō retsujoden* 扶桑列女伝 (which collects the biographies of the most famous courtesans of the period) of the encyclopaedia of the pleasure quarters *Shikidō ōkagami* 色道大鏡 (Great Mirror of the Way of Love, 1678), which contains in another section also an entry about Kumoi. In this section, the scandal of the client who killed Kumoi before committing suicide is narrated, while in *Meijo nasake kurabe* the author describes it as a romantic love-suicide. Yūgiri is in *Miotsukushi* 濤標 (Marks in a Water Channel), 1757. Yoshino later appears in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* and several other works until *Yoshinoden* 吉野伝 in 1812.

<sup>101</sup> Yoshino II and Komurasaki appear in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (but due to some discrepancy in the dates, we cannot be sure the name Komurasaki refers to the same courtesan of *Meijo nasake kurabe*), Yoshino of Yoshiwara in *Renbōmizu kagami* 恋慕水鏡, 1682, and Komurasaki in *Keisei irojamisen* けいせい色三味線, 1701. In almost all cases, in fictional works stories are different from those in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. Yūgiri features the kabuki *Yūgiri nagori no shōgatsu* 夕霧名残の正月, first played in 1678, the kyōgen *Yūgiri shichinenki* 夕霧七年忌, 1684, the jōruri *Yūgiri Awa no Naruto* 夕霧阿波鳴渡, 1712, both by Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門. Yoshino of Yoshiwara features the kabuki *Yoshino miuke* 吉野身請, 1678, by Tominaga Heibei 富永平兵衛.

Table 1 - Protagonists of *Meijo nasake kurabe* and previous *jokunsho*

<i>Meijo nasake kurabe</i>	<i>Ominaeshi monogatari</i>	<i>Honchō jōkan</i>
Princess Sotoori	○	○
Ono no Komachi	○	
Komachi's older sister		
Uneme		○
Princess Mano		
Kyōgoku the intimate		○
Unai otome (Motomezuka)	○	○
Empress Nijō		
Woman of Musashino		
High Priestess of Ise		
Ki no Arisune's daughter	○	
Murasaki Shikibu		○
Ukon	○	
Gidō Sanshi's mother		
Akazome Emon's younger sister		○
Shokushinai Shinnō		
Suō no Naishi	○	○
Izumi Shikibu	○	○
Empress Toba-in		○
Kesa Gozen		
Princes Goō		
Yokobue		○
Kozaishō		○
Aoi no mae		○
Lady-in-waiting Kogō		
Imadegawa Kin'aki's daughter		
Kōtō no Naishi		

Two examples are revealing in understanding how the same woman is described in a different way and for different purposes. First is Izumi Shikibu.<sup>102</sup>

### Izumi Shikibu (*Ominaeshi monogatari*- Book 3)

When her husband drifted apart from her, Izumi Shikibu went to pray at the Kibune Shrine. Looking at the fireflies flying [she composed]:

*Longing for him, even fireflies on the moor seemed to be*

*Sparks of burning passion, embers of my soul . . . of me!*

While she was looking at them, from the inside of the shrine, she heard a secret voice from the mountain's heart:

*Seething, falling in rapid cataracts,*

*Scattering jewels; such sadness alone should not fill your head.*<sup>103</sup>

Maybe thanks to this blessing (of the God), they say that the man became affectionate again.

<sup>102</sup> From now on, unless otherwise indicated, all the translations are mine. *Ominaeshi monogatari* has been transcribed in *Kanazōshi shūsei*. I used a previous transcription in *Tōyō jokun sōsho* (1902), vol. 3, pp. 9-82. *Honchō jōkan* is also transcribed in the same series, vol. 2, pp. 1-224.

<sup>103</sup> These poems are in *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 1163 and 1164. Translation by Robin D. Gill.



### Izumi Shikibu (*Honchō jōkan* – book 9)

Izumi Shikibu was the niece of the vice-minister of Dazaifu Takatōo, and the daughter of the governor of the Province of Chikuzen. She served as a court lady of Jōtōmon'in. Later, she became the wife of the Governor of the Province of Izumi Michisada. For this reason, she was called Izumi Shikibu. In *Shūi Wakashū* there is mention of the daughter of Masamune Shikibu. This is Izumi Shikibu. She was a lady of excellent wisdom, who was committed to learning, and was skilled in the way of poetry. One day, Empress Jōtōmon'in paid a visit to the manuscript of Harima [fudoki]. The Holy Priest Shōkū was a highly virtuous priest of the purification of the six roots of perception, and he knew about that [visit] already the day before, so he told the monks living with him: "tomorrow, some aristocrats will come to this mountain. Tell them I am not in this temple". When Jōtōmon'in arrived and the disciple monks saw her, they thought she was the aristocratic person the Holy Priest was talking about. Really, women are what harms the moral sense of the ascetic practices of the way of Buddhism! They come out tidying themselves with their beautiful faces and appearance, and since this is the reason of the confusion that deceives hearts, to people doing ascetic practices for the spiritual awakening they are like demons. Scared by this, the monks told them that the Holy Priest was visiting another person, so he was not there. Jōtōmon'in, who had come from so far (only for this) was reluctant, but she tearfully called her carriage and went back. Izumi Shikibu, who went on this visit with her, composed and left this poem on a pillar of the temple:

*From darkness I have entered on to a darker path*

*far away the moon of the edge of the mountain is shining<sup>104</sup>*

When the Holy Priest and monks came out, they saw this poem, and they were so boundlessly impressed that they called them back:

*The sun has gone down but the moon has still not risen*

*At twilight, the light of the Buddhist teaching has risen and shines*

The Holy Priest recited this, explained several texts, and taught and guided them into the way of Buddha. He compared Buddha to the sun, Maitreya to the moon, and without the mediation of these two Buddha to guide and the light of the Law, how could the spiritual darkness be lit up? It was really a splendid poem. Shikibu poems have been inserted in *Shūi wakashū*. It was maybe at this time, that her daughter Maid of Honour Koshikibu passed away too soon, and as a mother Shikibu sunk into grief. Jōtōmon'in was moved to pity, and when she conferred Shikibu with the Imperial Robe, Shikibu composed:

*Beneath the moss, imperishable, her name of high renown:*

*seeing it is a great sadness.<sup>105</sup>*

While reading this, she shed tears. Then, knowing things that are not ordinary, she moved to the way of Buddha Nyorai at Seiganji, and for the sake of the next life, she avoided the floating world. Later, she prepared a hermit's retreat and she retired (there). The Tōhōkuin is what is left (of that).

### Izumi Shikibu and her confinement to pray at Kibune Shrine (*Meijo nasake kurabe*- book 3)

Izumi Shikibu served at the court of Empress Jōtōmon'in. She was the daughter of Ōe no Masamune. Her former name was Ben no Naishi, but then she married [Tachibana no] Michisada, the governor of Izumi, and she was called Izumi Shikibu.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> *Kin'yō Wakashū* 10:620

It is hard to say how happily the married couple spent time together, but it is very common for people living in this fleeting life to have cheating hearts that can easily change. Michisada's heart was caught somewhere else and he secretly started visiting another woman's place. For this reason, Izumi Shikibu soon felt incredibly sorrowful. She was withering like pine trees when they wait anxiously, or the field of Adashi<sup>106</sup> before the storm comes. Her sleeves were more and more drenched with tears and she was so lost in sorrow that they did not have time to dry. In this evanescent world made of life and death, she was lost in thought blaming very much that she was the only one being forgotten. As she was a wise woman, she did not say anything, and had no resentment, but only deplored her karma and [thought] it is normal in this transitory world. This is how she spent her time, but it eventually became too painful. She left for the mountains in the north of the Capital, to Kibune Shrine where the God who protects love dwells. Confining herself in Kibune Shrine, her love felt as though unlimited, and she confessed all her sins. The last night, during the reading of the sutra, her heart was extremely limpid. The place was a lonely river among the mountains, and looking at the fireflies who were hopelessly going along the way of the stream [she composed]:

*Longing for him, even fireflies on the moor seemed to be  
Sparks of burning passion, embers of my soul . . . of me!*

The meaning of this waka is that "When I looked at the fireflies flying, I did not think them only normal fireflies, but pieces of my soul trying to fly out of my body, because the pain inside my heart was too much to endure." This is indeed a deeply touching waka. After this, maybe because the god was moved by this feeling, from the inside of the shrine, a very noble voice was heard saying:

*Seething, falling in rapid cataracts,  
Scattering jewels; such sadness alone should not fill your head.*

The meaning of this waka is that, in front of the eyes of this god, the appearance of lovesick Izumi Shikibu was the same as the waterfall in the depth of the mountains raging and falling. [The message of the god was] not to worry too much. Soon, his heart will calm down as the water in the well. It was true, as it was the prediction that she received from a god, that Michisada's heart awakened, and they became happy again together as they were in the past. She did not have any resentment toward what it is natural to blame, and the fact she prayed to a god and she received from him a good prophecy, was because her heart was truly earnest. In front of such earnestness, was it possible not to receive any good result?

Among the many Izumi Shikibu's waka, this one was chosen by Fujiwara no Teika in *Hyakunin isshu*:

*Soon I will be no more; Outwith this world, One memory:  
Now, once more Would I meet with you.*<sup>107</sup>

She put all her heart into this truly tender-hearted waka. This is the waka she sent to someone when she was ill and was suffering. "I spent my life together with you, we loved each other, and we pledged eternal love. Now I am suffering like this, and it would be really regrettable if I passed away preceding you. As this seems to really be the end, I want to meet you again to remember you also after I die." If we try to

<sup>106</sup>Adashi was a place in Saga (Kyoto), famous for its crematorium.

<sup>107</sup>*Hyakunin isshu* 56, *Goshūishū* XIII:763. Translation by Thomas McAuley.

guess the feeling of the person who received this waka, how could it be explained how touching and tender-hearted it was? It is true that superb people like this are out of the ordinary!

As is clear from this first example, the same woman is depicted in different ways according to each work. In *Ominaeshi monogatari*, we have a very short narration of the famous episode of the Kibune shrine, praising her talent for waka and passionate love for her husband. We know, though, that Izumi Shikibu had other lovers and remarried later, so it seems that this depiction leaves out her later love affairs on purpose, to present these waka as examples of beautiful poetry and devotion. In the section of *Honchō jōkan*, a different episode is narrated, but the focus is again on her talent for waka and her shrewdness. This was not only itself praiseworthy, but her prompt reaction in this story also becomes a support for Buddhist enlightenment for her and the Empress. On the other hand, in *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the focus is on her affection, and she is depicted as an amorous woman who devoted her life to love and passion. Moreover, the text seems also to show how a woman is supposed to behave in a similar situation (i.e. not showing jealousy), confirming the impression of a ‘love manual’ instead of a Confucian/Buddhist textbook.

Another example is the story of Suō no naishi.

#### **Suō no naishi (*Ominaeshi monogatari* – book 1)**

Suō no naishi was a lady-in-waiting at Nijō-no-in. One night of spring, Dainagon (Fujiwara no) Tadaie heard her saying stealthily “I wish I had a pillow”. He replied: “use this as your pillow”, while putting his arm under the bamboo blind. Therefore, she recited this poem:

*A spring night’s Dream, alone, is Your pillowing arm;  
Pointlessly to get A name, would be regrettable, indeed!*<sup>108</sup>

He replied:

*There must be a connection from our previous life if I am offering you my arm  
as a pillow on a late spring night; would you make this end as a worthless dream?*

People of the past used to read poems also for a fleeting caprice, and this is elegant. Replying this way to something fleeting, elegant and gentle, she protected her virtue. The manner in which she resisted [creating] frivolous rumours, is a really refined and desirable act (あらまほしきわざ). How would any other person of the time have said something without writing a poem, and avoided a worthless pillow and intimacy? Thus, since it is normal not to have any examples of a long relationship born from a fleeting spring night, this [night] usually becomes the reason for regret.

#### **Suō no naishi (*Honchō jōkan* – book 10)**

Suō no naishi was the daughter of Tsugunaka, the governor of the Province of Suo and the 8<sup>th</sup> generation descendent of the Imperial Prince Katsuwara. She was a court lady of Emperor Goreizei. She was well-

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<sup>108</sup> *Hyakunin isshu* 67, *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集 XVI: 964. Translation ibid.

recognised in the way of poetry, and she touched people's hearts. In the middle of the second lunar month, on a night with a red moon, when people were at Nijō-no-in talking, Suō no naishi laid down and said: "I wish I had a pillow". Hearing this, the Dainagon (Fujiwara no) Tadaie (said) "use this as your pillow", while putting his arm under the bamboo blind. Therefore, she read this poem:

*A spring night's Dream, alone, is Your pillowing arm;*

*Pointlessly to get A name, would be regrettable, indeed!*

Since she composed this, Tadaie replied:

*There must be a connection from our previous life if I am offering you my arm*

*as a pillow on a late spring night; would you make this end as a worthless dream?*

And they say he laughed. This poem was very elegant. It was a quick and witty poem in reply. Koshikibu's [poem] "Neither have I beheld", Lady Ise no Tayu's "Today in our nine-fold palace court" and Suō no naishi's "If I lay my head", are all praiseworthy excellent poems.<sup>109</sup> She was skilled [in poetry] by nature, and on top of this people used to praise her because she made few mistakes that could hide the [right] way to the heart.

#### **The poem read by Suō no naishi at Nijō-no-in (*Meijo nasake kurabe* – book 3)**

Suō no naishi was the daughter of the governor of the province of Suō Tsugunaka, and she was serving at the court of Goreizei'in. She was an incomparable beauty, she was gifted for waka, and at the time, no other lady-in-waiting could compete with her.

During a night of hazy moon in the second lunar month, she was in Nijō, where people were spending their time talking lazily about several things. There, Naishi laid down, and said she wanted a pillow. The Dainagon Tadaie was there and heard that. He had been feeling something for this woman for a while, but he had not a way [of confessing his love]. Since he could not express this passion, the feeling in his chest appeared as tears on his sleeves like the water that gushes from the rocks. "Oh, I wish I had an intermediary to ask!", he thought, seeing time go by without being able to approach her with miniature bamboo stalks cut for a pillow.<sup>110</sup> He had been hoping to get a connection from the wind that comes from there [when this happened], so after all this waiting, he immediately went near Naishi and said: "Use this as your pillow", putting his arm under the bamboo blind. Suō was an excellent person, and she must have taken this gently. She sympathised with this feeling, and without saying anything:

*A spring night's Dream, alone, is Your pillowing arm;*

*Pointlessly to get A name, would be regrettable, indeed!*

To write such a poem as a reply to Tadaie's words is a skill that normal people do not have, as the ancients praised her.

The meaning of this poem is that if she laid on the arm that he was offering as a pillow, how would people have seen that? Rumours of a love affair must have spread. If rumours shall spread, even because of the arm-pillow of a night spent together, what had to happen could have happened, but this was just a transitory arm-pillow. Especially because it was the dream of a pledge without really sleeping together, [it would be only] the transitory arm-pillow of a short night of spring. The meaning [of the waka] is that nothing good

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<sup>109</sup> *Hyakunin issshu* 60 and 61.

<sup>110</sup> 'Shino no ozasa' is a reference to the poem in *Shinkokinwakashū* n. 1205. 'Sorrowing I lay me down on miniature bamboo stalks cut for my pillow; How briefly does the dew drop their on this single night alone'. Translation by Thomas McAuley.

could have come from this. Truly, the fact that she was able to include what may [need] thousands of words in just 31 syllables, is something that cannot be described with words.

It is a pity that on this occasion Tadaie did not reply. Since the feeling that had piled up was not a normal one, he restrained [the feelings] invading his chest, and did not compose a poem in response. Teika too found this regrettable, so he thought he had to reply in Tadaie's place, and even if it was after a while, he read this:

*There must be a connection from our previous life if I am offering you my arm  
as a pillow on a late spring night; would you make this end as a worthless dream?*

The core of this poem is in reply to Naishi, who said that it was not worth having rumours spread [for that]. If she had accepted that arm-pillow, that would be because of the unusual connection from their previous life. How could receiving a pledge on a spring night, though short, have ended in just a dream? She had the responsibility of accepting that arm-pillow. It is such a pity that Tadaie could not reply with this waka, since that would have been extremely interesting. Indeed, the poem of Naishi was the [expression of] an unparalleled affection.

As we can see here, the three works interpret the same episode in different ways. In *Ominaeshi monogatari* this woman is praised as an example of morality and chastity, in *Honchō jōkan* she is referred to as an excellent poet. On the other hand, the same episode in *Meijo nasake kurabe* shows some variants. First, before the waka the author tells us that Tadaie was madly in love with Suō no naishi, describing his pain in detail. Then, he explains the meaning of the poem, expressing her fear of an illusory love more than a harm to her good reputation. Finally, we are told that Tadaie was so moved that he could not compose anything, so Fujiwara no Teika wrote the poem in reply (but this poem is officially attributed to Fujiwara no Tadaie). The shift to the realm of love is clear.

We can conclude that *Meijo nasake kurabe* is not designed as a text to educate women about morals. It is rather a work that celebrates love in all its manifestations as central to the life of human beings, and which aims to entertain a wide readership. Due to this new focus and these alluding parts, *Meijo nasake kurabe* is closer in contents and authorial intent to erotic books.

### **1. *Genji on-iro asobi*: humour in *shunpon* rewritings**

*Genji on-iro asobi* is a collection of stories of famous couples that was published around 1681, and originally comprised two books and two volumes.<sup>111</sup> The signed afterword at the end of volume two refers to the publisher Yama no Yatsu 山八 as the author, and Yoshida Hanbei as

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<sup>111</sup> There is no colophon at the end, so the dating is based on the preface date, which is the second lunar month of Enpō 9. The only extant complete copy is now available online at the Nichibun database. There is also a partial facsimile (only pictures) in Lane 1979. Due to the better condition of the book, hereafter I use pictures from *Kōshoku hana susuki*, while, unless otherwise specified, the text is translated from *Genji on-iro asobi*.

the illustrator. A *kaidaihon* 改題本 (a publication with content identical to that of a previously published work but issued with a different title), *Kōshoku hana susuki* was also published in 1705.<sup>112</sup> Despite the reference to *Genji monogatari* in the title, almost all the stories in this book are unrelated to *Genji monogatari*. The only exception is the first story (The love of Prince Genji and Lady Murasaki), from which the title is inspired. The title of the *kaidaihon Kōshoku hana susuki* employs the popularity of the term *kōshoku* that followed the publication of *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*. ‘Flowering grasses’, an expression also used in waka poetry, refers to the way *susuki* flutter in the wind. The movement refers to the act of waving to call somebody, making it a synonym of inviting.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the implicit meaning of *Kōshoku hana susuki* should be ‘An Invitation to Sensuality’, a title fitting well into the general interest for *kōshoku* of the period (as explained in the introduction).

*Genji on-iro asobi* starts with an independent title-page bearing a felicitous design of phoenixes, cranes, pines, paulownia, tortoises, and shrimps, all elements often associated with marital harmony (fig. 3). A very similar illustration, with two small shrimps and cranes, can be seen for example in the section ‘marital vows’ 比翼連理 in the erotic encyclopaedia *Kōshoku kinmōzui* 好色訓蒙図彙 (by the same illustrator).



Figure 3 *Genji on-iro asobi* - *mikaeshi*

<sup>112</sup> This work is available online on the Boston Fine Arts Museum website. In *Genji on-iro asobi* the publisher was not specified, but here the name of the Kyoto publisher Kashiwaya Saburōbei 柏屋三郎兵衛 is given instead of the author's name.

<sup>113</sup> We found a reference to the maiden flower fluttering in the wind as an example of how love should be also at the end of the dialogue in *Meijo nasake kurabe*.

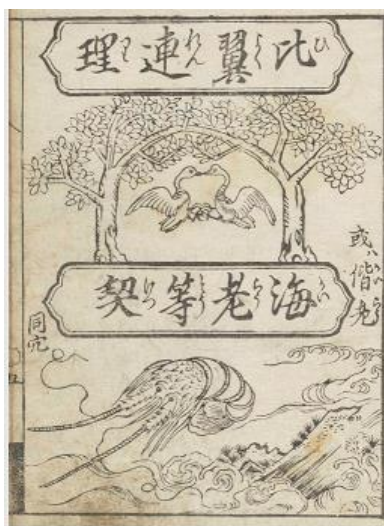


Figure 4 *Kōshoku kinmōzui* (vol 1-5r)

The preface of *Genji on-iro asobi* (absent in the *kaidai-bon*) is only one folio (1r-1v). The content is as follows:

It is said that people who do not have taste for lovemaking are like splendid winecups without a bottom.<sup>114</sup>

The famous monk [Kenkō] said he wrote ‘Essays in Idleness’ because he was in idleness, hence its title. Although I do not mean to imitate, I put as the beginning of this book the story of Prince Genji, so I title it [Genji’s] ‘Erotic Pursuits’. The intricacies of sensuality that are handed down from the age of the gods have been flourishing, and are still flourishing day by day. This is truly the supreme virtue and highest good, that makes the whole family lineage happy. [...]

I used all the strength of my brush [to depict] several jewelled steams (penises) and jewelled gates (vaginas). After the first book, I combined them [these pictures] with some extraordinary jokes (道外). I am happy to print 1000 copies that are meant to be for hot-blooded youths.

This preface does not imitate that of *Meijo nasake kurabe*, which was long and full of references to classics. This one is simple and short. It goes straight to the point, explains the origin of the title, the contents, the aim of the work and the intended readership. The only intertextual reference is the use of an expression from *Tsurezuregusa*, taken from a section about lovemaking (underlined in the translation). This preface suggests that sexually explicit depictions will be given in both text and illustrations. It is also important to note that the targeted audience is youths (血気盛んの若者ども). Youths may also mean (sexually) inexperienced people, implying that this book aims to educate people in general about how to have sex. Although it was a usual rhetorical device during the Edo period to state in prefaces the intention to dedicate the work to women and children (with the meaning of uneducated

<sup>114</sup> 玉の盃の底なきにひとし (in *Tsurezuregusa* 好色まざらん男は、いとさうざうしく玉の杯の底なき心地ぞすべき) “If [a man] has no taste for lovemaking, one feels something terribly inadequate about him, as if he were a valuable winecup without a bottom.” (translation by Keene 1998).

people), the word ‘*wakamono*’ was not the most commonly used. Hence, we should not dismiss a possible educational intent.

More details about the intention of the illustrator are given in the afterword to the second volume (18v):

Those called ‘Pillow Pictures’ are the best implements for the marriage. Men too should own some. This is because it is said that these (pillow pictures) bring joy to people’s heart. This is also why they are usually put in the armour chests of warriors. Nevertheless, the usual pillow pictures do not distinguish between what is good or bad, and from the first illustration they only write inauspicious things. Since in all the booklets the beginning and the end are by far the most known, in this *On-iro asobi* I have drawn all sorts of auspicious things, putting here the two shrimps that lives inside the Venus’ flower basket, the two birds with only one wing each, the trees with entwined branches, pines, bamboos, cranes and tortoises.<sup>115</sup> Since at the end of the second book I have drawn both young and old women during the pledge of conjugal harmony [= intercourse], you can use [this book] to celebrate any occasion. You should not use other pictures that do not discern between good and bad. Moreover, I wanted to provide you with something that could render great service in every kind of celebration.

Very truly yours, Illustrator Yoshida Hanbei

On an auspicious day of the fourth month, publisher Saburōbei

It is revealing to see here such an emphasis on the educational purpose of *shunpon* by stating that they were put in bridal trousseau (to teach sexual education to women), but which also, according to Yoshida Hanbei - who makes sure not to identify in the audience any specific gender - could be instructive tools for men too. The importance of *shunpon* in marital harmony is confirmed by the fact that they ‘bring joy to people’s heart’ and they were considered auspicious items.<sup>116</sup>

We must now look at the content of the first book of *Genji on-iro asobi*.

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<sup>115</sup> In the past, it was common use in some Asian countries to give to newlyweds this Venus’ flower basket, because its inside is inhabited by a couple of shrimps, that live in symbiosis with the flower all their life. The birds with one wing each are symbol of a happily married couple, and all the other items were also auspicious.

<sup>116</sup> As mentioned in the introduction.



**Table 2 Contents of *Meijo nasake kurabe* and *Genji on-iro asobi***

	<i>Meijo nasake kurabe</i> (book 1 to 4)	<i>Genji on-iro asobi</i> (book 1)
Book 1	Sotōri hime and Emperor Ingyō	
	Ono no Komachi	Prince Genji and Murasaki
	Komachi's sister	
	Uneme and the Emperor	
	<b>Princess Mano and Emperor Yōmei</b>	<b>Princess Mano and Emperor Yōmei</b>
	Empress Kyōgoku and the Priest of Shigadera	
Book 2	Motomezuka	
	<b>Empress Nijō and Ariwara no Narihira</b>	<b>Empress Nijō and Ariwara no Narihira</b>
	The woman of Musashi and Narihira	
	The Ise Shrine Priestess and Narihira	
	Aritsune's daughter and Narihira	
	<b>Murasaki Shikibu and Lord Takaakira</b>	<b>Murasaki Shikibu and Lord Takaakira</b>
	Ukon no kimi	
Book 3	Gidō Sanshi's mother and Michitaka	
	Akazome Emon reads a poem for her sister	
	<b>Princess Shikishi and Fujiwara no Teika</b>	<b>Princess Shikishi and Fujiwara no Teika</b>
	Princess Suō	
	<b>Izumi Shikibu and Lord Michisada</b>	<b>Izumi Shikibu and Lord Michisada</b>
	<b>Empress Toba no in and Lord Norikiyo</b>	<b>Empress Toba no in and Lord Norikiyo</b>
	Minamoto Wataru's wife	
Book 4	<b>Princess Goō and Lord Ushiwaka</b>	<b>Princess Goō and Lord Ushiwaka</b>
	Yokobue and her suicide	
	<b>Princess Kozaishō and Lord Michimori</b>	<b>Princess Kozaishō and Lord Michimori</b>
	Aoi no mae	
	Kogō no Tsubone	
	<b>Lord Imadegawa's daughter and the First Prince</b>	<b>Lord Imadegawa's daughter and the First Prince</b>
	Princess Kōtō and Lord Nitta Yoshisada	Princess Yayoi and Lord Yoshimitsu
		Princess Yakumo and Lord Katsumoto

In Table 2 I have listed in their original order the titles of the first four books of *Meijo nasake kurabe* and the titles of the first book of *Genji on-iro asobi*. The titles in bold are stories shared by the two works, for a total of nine. If we consider the date on the colophon of *Meijo nasake kurabe* (New Lunar Year of Enpō 9) and the preface date of *Genji on-iro asobi* (second lunar month of Enpō 9), the latter was published only a few months after the former.

#### a) Translations and analysis of selected passages

The similarities between the two texts are even more striking when one looks at the stories. Translations, followed by the close reading of selected passages, shed light on the intertextual re-appropriation of the source-text. The first story about Genji and Murasaki in *Genji on-iro asobi* is partially taken from the dialogue about the love of Genji and Narihira inserted in *Meijo nasake kurabe*.<sup>117</sup>

##### The love of Prince Genji and Lady Murasaki (2v)

Prince Genji had such a beautiful appearance that it looked like he was shining and twinkling, and for this reason he was called Genji, the shining Prince. One day, he got the ague, and since in the Kurama temple

<sup>117</sup> I do not give the complete translation of the reference to this in *Meijo nasake kurabe* because it was in the *mondō* about the affection of Genji and Narihira previously analysed.

there was an august holy man, he went there to be cured. At that time, (Murasaki's aunt) the nun was bringing up Murasaki in Kitayama. She was still a young child. While she was playing with her beloved pet sparrow, one of her girl companions called Inuki released it, and when she was expressing her anger, Genji watched her from behind a brushwood fence. He fell in love with her, and composed this poem:

Only one call from the silly little crane

That was all it took to put the boat in a frenzy, the boat still stuck in the reeds

Prince Genji sent her [this poem] and thereafter he fell in love, not able to forget her beautiful appearance.

In the end, he took her with him, and they promised together that their love would not end as never would the waves over Sue-no-Matsu Mountain. During the first intercourse, since she was still a child, she was

greatly fretful, and [Genji] said "this is how the first time feels, so you may not like it". Since they did it

several times, as expected, later little by little it became better, so she said: "Genji is not a person who tells

lies."

The parts underlined are shared with the source-text, but the final passage, which is sexually explicit, is added anew. I argue that the insertion of this passage makes the story humorous. In *Genji monogatari*, this episode was a nodal point since it described the first intercourse between Genji and one of the main protagonists of the tale. Due to Murasaki's young age, this is also one of the most debated episodes. The humour relies on the fact that the reader would be familiar with this episode and would be surprised by the turning of a distressed child into a young woman who discovers how pleasant sex is (源様はうそつかぬ人じやとの給ふた). This technique exemplifies what in theoretical work on humour is known as the 'incongruity theory'.<sup>118</sup> According to this theory, the key to comic effect is the deviation from what is supposed to be the norm, which means "an anomaly or incongruity relative to some framework governing the ways in which we think the world is or should be".<sup>119</sup> Murasaki, as per the 'norm' established in *Genji monogatari*, should have felt betrayed, but, and here is the anomaly, she enjoys sex with Genji. The result of this incongruity is laughter. In this case, the 'relief theory' about humour can be applied too: the knowledgeable reader would be ready to feel pity for this girl, but the cause of concern is erased here, causing amusement.<sup>120</sup>

On top of this incongruity, it is significant that the closing sexually explicit description in this work is always short and suddenly ends the previous narration, which was at that point still 'serious'. If we compare it with a form of contemporary comic humour, we can say that

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<sup>118</sup> "One element -we can label it A - typically is the closer of the two to a social norm or to something that has been socially valorized. The other, more gratifying element - the B - tends in some way to counter or undermine or defy or circumvent the A." Attardo 1994, p. 69.

<sup>119</sup> Carroll 2014, p. 17.

<sup>120</sup> "In humour ... we prepare ourselves to feel emotions such as fear or pity but realize that we have no cause to be concerned; the energy summoned is found to be superfluous and released in laughter." For Freud, humor has a "heroic function in the sense of liberation it achieves in allowing us to stand aloof from the trials and tribulations of life." Boyd 2004, p. 4.

this narrative stunt in *Genji on-iro asobi* closely reminds us of the technique used in *rakugo* usually referred to as ‘*ochi*’ (落ち lit. “fall”), which is a sudden interruption of the wordplay flow. It can be said in *rakugo ochi* that the “interaction ‘falls’ from the line one would normally expect to be its course. That is, each time a pun appears, the expected line of interaction is interrupted and ‘dropped’ in a different direction from that in which it appeared to be going”.<sup>121</sup> As in *rakugo*, in this story the deviation from the expected (earlier literature) occurs suddenly, creating this element of surprise. Such a kind of comical narration is not necessarily distinctive of Japanese comic storytelling, but can correspond to Mark Twain’s category of “rambling and disjointed humour”, where the effectiveness of a performance depends on the quickness with which the tone is ‘dropped.’<sup>122</sup>

The double-page spread that accompanies the story is not sexually explicit. A couple dressed in the vogue of the Heian period aristocracy is depicted close to a veranda on the left, while another woman can be seen in the right corner. The man is on his knees, as he is trying to court, or maybe persuade, the young woman in front of him. It is immediately clear that the female protagonist of this picture is not a child, so despite the contents of the text, what is confronted in the illustration is different. Moreover, the woman on the right is wearing the headgear typically used by *yarite* 遣手 (women who served as assistant, supervisor and companion of courtesans), indicating that this is actually a brothel scene.<sup>123</sup> Hence, we have here an example of *mitate*, shrewdly and unrealistically mixing some ‘*ga*’ elements (the reference to *Genji monogatari*, the couple dressed in the Heian-period guise) with Edo-period ‘*zoku*’ (the *yarite* and the brothel setting) in the same picture.<sup>124</sup> It can be assumed that these clues to the text/picture discrepancy, probably easily spottable by the reader, were part of the enjoyment of this work too.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Mary Sanches, “Falling Words: An Analysis of a Japanese Rakugo Performance,” p. 303. See also ‘Ochi and Gags in Rakugo Performances’ in Morioka-Sasaki 1990, pp. 69-98. Shirakura too described this type of humour of short stories in early Edo-period *shunpon* as ending with an ‘*ochi*’. See Shirakura et al. 2000, p. 14.

<sup>122</sup> “Very often, of course, the rambling and disjointed humorous story finishes with a nub, point, snapper or whatever you like to call it “. See Mark Twain, “How to Tell a Story”.

<sup>123</sup> I am grateful to Professor Mostow for pointing out that the picture was depicting a brothel scene.

<sup>124</sup> “Ukiyo-e scholarship has generally used the modern label *mitate-e* (*mitate* picture) to mean a Floating World print or painting that updates a classical story to the Edo period, often substituting a courtesan, waitress or young townswoman for the poet, sage or warrior who had featured in the classical original, thereby giving the story a new interpretation and an erotic charge.” Haft 2013, pp. 33.

<sup>125</sup> Since the condition of *Kōshoku hana susuki* is better, I use its illustrations here instead of those in *Genji on-iro asobi*.

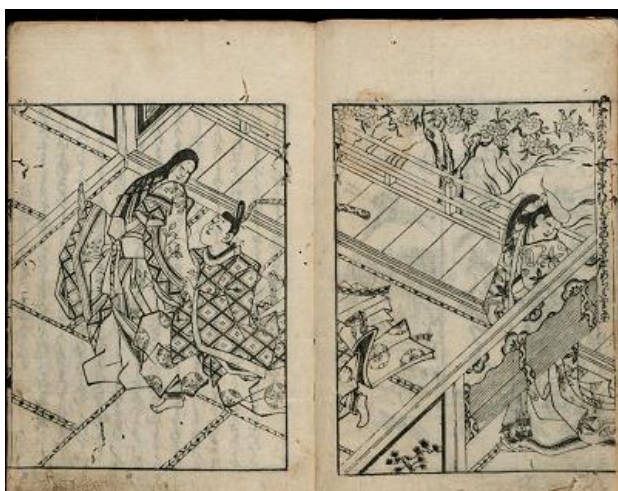


Figure 5 *Kōshoku hana susuki* (3v-4r) - Genji and Murasaki

Another story that the two works share is that of the Mano Princess. In *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the story reads:

#### **The Mano Princess and her promise of love to Emperor Yōmei (Book 1)**

The Mano Princess was the only daughter of a wealthy man called Mano in the Province of Tsukushi. She was of incomparable beauty. When Emperor Yōmei was very young, maybe thanks to a past fate, he heard about this Princess even though she was in a very faraway place by sea. Therefore, he concealed his noble origin under shabby attire and went to Tsukushi.

Some people said: it is really odd that he dressed like a poor and shabby man despite being the Emperor. If he had summoned the girl, would he have had any hindrance? People who think that it was odd are people who have never been in love at all. Since love is intrinsically an act of passion, it is customary when in love to desire to fully know the heart of one's beloved. That is why there is the poem:

*Would that I possessed a way- a path to travel unobserved,*

*Secret as Mount Shinobu's name- to behold the innermost recesses of your heart*<sup>126</sup>

It was because of the nature of this feeling that the Emperor thought that it would not make sense to love someone without full commitment. He intentionally hid his rank for love's sake and became a grass cutter to the rich Princess' father. He went in the fields playing the flute, and waited for an occasion to pledge his love. When he was finally able to talk to her and get closer, the Princess fell in love with him as a poor mower, without even dreaming of him being the Emperor. At last, he managed to court her. Although he was a humble mower, she found being loved was a gentle thing and she secretly opened her heart to him. She invited the humble mower into a magnificent chamber where that night they pledged their love to one another as the beginning of a long series of one thousand nights. This was indeed a passion without comparison.

After that, the Emperor secured the Princess' love and he told her everything from beginning to end, saying that he was the Lord of the country. He took her to the capital, where she became Empress and was

<sup>126</sup> Translation in McCullough 1968.

respected by many people. This unequalled happiness is truly the result of deep affection. It is indeed true that love is not for the sake of others but for oneself.

In line with the *'kōshokubon-nature'* of the text discussed in the previous section, the atmosphere is already alluding, with the Princess inviting the grass cutter 'into a magnificent chamber' where 'they pledged (*chigiru*) their love to one another that night as the beginning of a long series of one thousand nights'. Sex is not depicted, but we can imagine how the night ended.<sup>127</sup> The passage to sexually explicit is fully exploited in *Genji on-iro asobi*.

### **The Mano Princess and her promise to Emperor Yōmei (3r)**

The only daughter of a wealthy man in Mano was of incomparable beauty. When Emperor Yōmei was really young, he heard about this Princess. He started yearning for this unknown love. As he was an accomplished person, he reflected upon this and concluded that it would be extremely easy for him to simply summon her. But if he had sent an Imperial envoy, he would not have been able to perceive what the Princess' true feelings were. How could she possibly reject the love of an Emperor? This is not how love should be. Having thought this, he concealed his noble origin under shabby attire and went to Tsukushi, where he became the grass cutter to the rich Princess' father. This is indeed a praiseworthy feeling of love. He went in the fields playing the flute, and waited for the occasion to pledge his love. When he finally managed to talk to her and get closer, the Princess fell in love with him as a poor grass cutter, without even dreaming of him being the Emperor. At last, he managed to court her. Although he was a humble mower, she found being loved was a gentle thing and she secretly opened her heart to him. She invited the humble mower into a magnificent chamber and that night they pledged their love to one another as the beginning of a long series of one thousand nights.

After having had sex with the Princess, he was impressed by her heart and he told her the whole truth, but she was not surprised at all. She replied: "I was already aware that you are not an ordinary man. If you were not a Prince, how could you have tasted so nice? It is really as I thought!"

As for the previous story, here a great deal of the text is shared verbatim (parts underlined). The end modifies the source-text into something sexually explicit. The praise for the affection of the Princess in *Meijo nasake kurabe* (in bold) is turned into praise for the good taste of sex. The use of the sexual element is humorous, since the expected romantic appreciation of the Princess is suddenly reverted by a sexual innuendo. The peak of expectation in this story is reached at the confession of the Emperor, but the following line suddenly deviates from the course of narration we would anticipate. This happens quickly: it is just the

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<sup>127</sup> The only earlier literary work featuring the Mano Princess is the Muromachi period *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 *Eboshiori* 烏帽子折. However, in this work the story is different, so the episode described in *Meijo nasake kurabe* is fresh. Except for the *kōwakamai*, the Mano Princess is not among the protagonists of any other work of this period, so the presence of this story in *Genji on-iro asobi* demonstrates the close intertextual connection between the two works.

line “if you were not a Prince, how could you have tasted so nice?” 王さまでなくは此やうなあじのよいのはあるまひとおもひました。

The illustration joins in the explicit depiction of sex.



Figure 6 *Kōshoku hana susuki* (4v-5r) - Mano Princess

On the left, the Princess and Prince are enjoying intercourse, while on the right we see a boy playing the flute on an ox (as Emperor Yōmei supposedly did according to the text). The double-page image is divided into two parts by the cloud band, depicting the couple on one side, and introducing an external element on the other. In this case too, the illustration is a *mitate*, since the boy riding the ox is a reference to one of the pictures accompanying the "Ten Bulls" (十牛 *jūgyū*, a series of short poems and drawings used in the Zen tradition to describe the stages of a practitioner's progress toward enlightenment), the sixth "Riding the Bull Home".<sup>128</sup> As in the previous picture, we see a discrepancy between a reference to Zen Buddhism, through a very specific visual allusion, and the newly created sexually explicit scene.

The third shared story is that of the secret love of Narihira and Empress Nijō, originally in *Ise monogatari*. In *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the story reads:

#### **The promise of love of Narihira and Empress Nijō and about Empress Somedono (Book 2)**

When Empress Nijō was not yet serving the Emperor and she was living with her cousin Empress Somedono, the Lieutenant General Ariwara no Narihira was a person with connections within that circle and could easily visit this place.

Narihira was by nature an exceptionally amorous man. Moreover, because his figure was extremely pleasant, and he was indeed handsome, there was no woman who could resist him. As for Empress Nijō, her graceful figure was more uncommon than a dew-covered bellflower and surpassed the beauty of a cherry tree when its branches are full of blossoms, and the fragrance of plum flowers. When she was sixteen in full bloom, her heart was full of love. One would say that her lovely appearance was just like that of hail

<sup>128</sup> Again, I must thank Professor Mostow for indicating this reference to Zen Buddhism.

among the bamboo leaves that falls as soon as you touch it. The proof of their love vows was in the tender love replenishing in their eyes. The lieutenant general approached her, avoiding attracting the attention of other people. **When they were together, they looked like two flowers whose colours were melting; they were like the wisteria clinging to the pine tree. Among their dishevelled hair and the boxwood combs in the disarray of their loving hearts, their entwined arms lacking any energy, no words were necessary to describe this scene.**

Despite all this, Empress Somedono said [to Nijō]: “since you have been promised to Emperor Seiwa as his consort, I must put a guard to protect your reputation, although I know that this will be disruptive for his visits”. Since it is a habit of love not to be able to restrain one’s feelings, without worrying about who might see him, he frequently visited her place from a hole that children had made in the tile-roof. However, since his visits became frequent and he was found out, a surprised Empress Somedono posted a watch to guard the way every night. The Lieutenant General was longing for this love and he sent to Empress Somedono the waka:

*Would that he might fall asleep every night – this guard at the secret place where I come and go*<sup>129</sup>

He lamented all this by writing this waka. The meaning of this *waka* is as follows. The secret place is the opening made by children in the tile-roofed wall that he used to come and go. The people who protected this place were the brothers of Empress Nijō and the Counsellor Prince Kunitsune. “Would that he might fall asleep every night” means that it would be welcome if the guard could fall asleep thinking deeply about the sadness of love and the hardship of the two lovers who suffered because they could not meet. It has such a sad meaning. This is a truly warm-hearted waka which expresses the nature of love. Empress Somedono heard this waka and, moved by extreme pity, she intentionally forgot to put the guard and let the Lieutenant General come and go from that moment on.

It is normal for women, no matter whether high or low-born, to feel jealousy, but Empress Somedono did not experience any such feeling. She was simply deeply moved because of this poem and she took into consideration the state of the two lovers who could not meet. This understanding of Empress Somedono is the pinnacle of a compassionate heart and the very fact of being able to feel like this is above any expectation.

There is also the waka that Narihira sent to that Empress:

*If you love me let us sleep together, though it be in a weed-choked house with our sleeves for a mattress*

The thing called [in the waka] *hijiki* is quoted here because he also sent with this waka to the Empress some *hijiki*. *Hijiki* is an alga. The meaning of this song is as follows. If we do have the intention of a true love which is to fulfil our feelings, if we are together, I will not suffer even if I stay in a house made of trailing plants. Even if we lay our sleeves on a straw mat, it would not be hard for me. This is the meaning of this passage. The “house made of trailing plants” means a poor, shabby house. The tangled growth of weeds describes a state of decay where different weeds are hanging down. It is really a tender-hearted waka and it is natural for people in love to think in these terms.

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<sup>129</sup> McCullough 1968.

*No matter what, whether it is in beautiful lodgings or in a house of decay wrapped up in weeds- with you  
I sleep*<sup>130</sup>

This waka has the same meaning. Recently, it can be heard often.

In this story, the affection praised is that of Somedono. The waka poems and their explanation play an important role in this. The way the story is narrated is erotic. Even if it never becomes explicit, the erotic tone can be appreciated in the depiction of the lovers' trysts, saying they looked 'like two flowers whose colours were melting' (part in bold). The illustration also seems to accentuate this erotic side, since it depicts the Princess waiting for Narihira inside, and not only the guards protecting the way, as was usually the case in the illustration of *Ise monogatari*.



Figure 7 *Shusho Ise monogatari* 首書伊勢 (1685, Yoshida Hanbei)

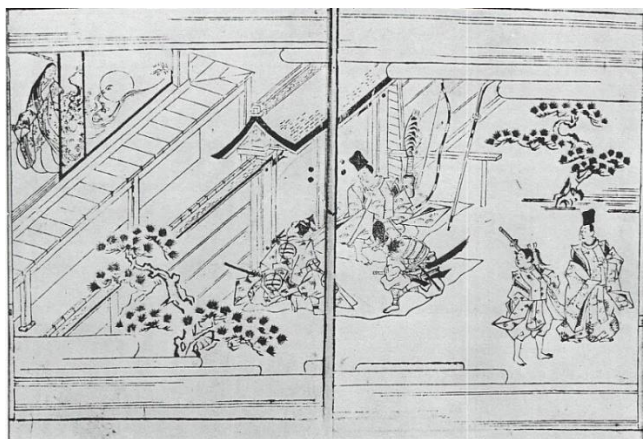


Figure 8 *Meijo nasake kurabe* - Empress Nijō (book 2-3v/4r)

*Genji on-iro asobi*, once again, turns the erotic into the sexually explicit.

<sup>130</sup> Waka in *Kokin wakarokujō* 古今和歌六帖.



### The promise of love of Narihira and Empress Nijō (5v)

When Empress Nijō was not serving at court, she lived with Empress Somedono. At that time, Narihira was handsome: he was handsome to the point that he looked manly without any feminine trait. Above all he was a person of deep feeling, so that there was no woman who did not fall in love with him. Empress Nijō had a very gentle demeanour. She was rarer than the dew on the bellflower. She was sixteen and in full bloom when she was entranced by his beauty. When she courted him in various ways, he was tender-hearted and naturally amorous. Since he started to visit Nijō's place from an opening made by children in the tile-roofed wall, when Empress Somedono heard that, she worried about what could happen if the Emperor heard about this. As such, she put a guard every night to protect that way. Narihira, forlorn, sent her a poem.

Would that he might fall asleep every night – this guard at the secret place where I come and go

When Empress Somedono read this poem, she was moved to pity such that she relieved the guard and let him come and go to his lover's place again. This is what the Empress thought. “Wet of different humours is the way of love”. When entering the bed chamber and having sex with him, Nijō's joy must have been boundless. “It is perfectly reasonable that women always fall in love with Narihira. Not even in China do they have as tasty a man as him. How pleasant!”

Once more, the *shunpon* is using almost the same words, but the story is shorter, and the last lines introduce the unexpected sexually explicit element. Praise for the romantic affection displayed by Empress Somedono towards Nijō and for her lack of jealousy, is turned into praise for Narihira and his sex appeal (with the conclusion “Not even in China do they have as tasty a man as him. How pleasant!” 此やうなあぢのよひのはからにもござんすまひよいきびや / \ ).

The illustration is again divided into two parts.



Figure 9 *Kōshoku hana susuki* (7v-8r) - Empress Nijō

In this double-page spread, the lovemaking is on the right, and a woman, probably Empress Somedono, is peeping at the couple having sex. So, we see a sexually explicit part on

one side, and a non-sexually explicit element on the other. In this case, Empress Somedono is the witness, a trope widely used in *shunpon* and *shunga*. But there is more to this scene than simply the excitement of voyeurism. Because the illustration accompanies the text, Somedono moves away from being the one responsible for keeping the two lovers apart and turns into the one who enjoys their sex, albeit as a third part watching the scene. The gap between the ought-to-be Somedono and the ‘new’ Somedono easily prompts a smile in the reader.

Let’s have a look at the episode about the love of Murasaki Shikibu and Lord Takaakira.

#### **Murasaki Shikibu and her promise with Prince Takaakira (*Meijo nasake kurabe* -book 2)**

Murasaki Shikibu was the daughter of the governor of the Echizen Province Fujiwara no Tametoki. She was also serving Empress Jōtōmon’in, the consort of Emperor Ichijō. Her exceptional talent was obvious to everyone thanks to the fact that she wrote *Genji monogatari*. Her figure was also extremely pleasant, and she was incomparably compassionate. The Minister of the Left and Emperor Murakami’s son, the Imperial Prince Takaakira, fell in love with her, and Murasaki too loved him exceptionally, so they **secretly pledged** their eternal love.

Because waka is something that originally comes from love, there is no one who does not convey one’s own feelings through poems and who is not infatuated by them. **They exchanged promises, and** since it was Murasaki Shikibu, **it is even redundant to state the nature of their relationship, for which they were meeting in secret.** Therefore, when because of a certain accident Prince Takaakira fell deeply distressed and was exiled, Murasaki was lost in grief and lamented that she wanted to go with him to the same place near the West Sea. She was torn between doing something for her beloved and not allowing any rumours about this to go around until the next life. Except for her wet sleeves, nothing betrayed her feelings and she kept serving at Court, crying inwardly.

One day, Empress Jōtōmon’in received a letter from the High Priestess in Kamo saying that she wanted to read a new original story, if there were any around, to dispel her boredom. Among all the court ladies, the Empress called Shikibu, and said: “since *Otsubo* and *Taketori monogatari* are extremely old, would you write something original and bring it to me?” Murasaki Shikibu accepted the order, hid herself in the Ishiyama Temple and wrote all 60 *Genji monogatari* chapters.

Right at that time, she could not forget her painful parting with Takaakira, and lovesickness was growing heavy [in her heart]. With the aim of confessing her sins, she created the character of Prince Genji, whom she compared to Takaakira. As Prince Takaakira had been sadly exiled, she started to write from the part full of deep sorrow when Prince Genji, after his relationship with Oborotsukiyo became known, is exiled to Suma. So, after she started writing from the Suma chapter, she realized that night was the fifteenth night of the eighth lunar month, as it is said that was the evening when she began her work. The shadowless moon of the fifteenth night was reflected charmingly on the water of the lake, and before starting to forget [the story], she took the scroll of the *Large Sutra on the Perfection of Wisdom* that was in front of the Buddha statue, and copied the tale on the back of the sutra. It is said that this was the origin of the 60 chapters of *Genji monogatari*. She then offered the copy of the *Large Sutra on the Perfection of Wisdom* with her own writing on the back to the temple, and they say that this scroll is still kept at the Ishiyama

Temple. Since in *Genji monogatari* she wrote about Lady Murasaki in a particularly interesting way, her own name changed from the original Fuji Shikibu into Murasaki Shikibu.

In its first essence, this tale expresses the grief of the parting with Takaakira when she was still in love with him. The fact that she wrote about passion and narrated several love stories one after another is indeed the sign of her unparalleled affection. Even in our modern world, all kinds of love can be found in this tale.

In *Meijo nasake kurabe*, Murasaki becomes for the first time an amorous woman (instead of an admired and virtuous woman), and the reason that prompts Murasaki to write *Genji monogatari* is not a Buddhist awakening, but a sorrowful depart from her lover, and the pain she went through as she was deeply in love. The nature of this love, again, is not only limited to the romantic side. At the beginning of the story, we are told that Murasaki and Takaakira “secretly pledged their love” しのび / \ にちぎらせ給ひけり, but in this case too the term used is ‘*chigiru*’, implying a sexual relationship. This is confirmed later in another passage: “they exchanged love vows and it is even redundant to say the nature of their relationship, for which they were meeting in secret” 式部なれば。彼君とちぎりをかはし。しのびあひ給ふ御中のまじはりハ、いふも中々おろかなりけり. The term used here is precisely ‘*majiwari*’, which often means sexual intercourse. We see how the focus is not only exclusively on the ‘romantic side’, but that the story is narrated using words related to the erotic. The stress on the sensual side of the relationship of the couple and on Murasaki’s feelings was forced. This could have been even on purpose to amuse readers, sounding perhaps humorous to those familiar with the conventional depiction, since they could identify a gap (and this idea can be applied to several other stories in *Meijo nasake kurabe*). In the source-text, the nature of the attachment of Murasaki is exaggerated, somehow pushing the standard representation of this woman far from what it used to be. In any case, this new textual depiction certainly makes the shift to the *shunpon* much easier.

On the other hand, the illustration of *Meijo nasake kurabe* still looks rather conventional. She is writing *Genji monogatari* at her desk, as she was commonly portrayed in this period.

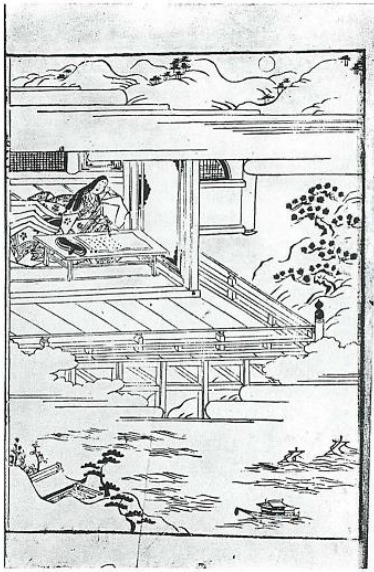


Figure 10 *Meijo nasake kurabe* - Murasaki Shikibu (book 2-16r)

Conversely, the story in *Genji on-iro asobi* reads:

#### Murasaki Shikibu secretly meeting Prince Takaakira (6r)

Murasaki Shikibu was the daughter of Tametoki, the governor of the Echizen Province. She was also serving Empress Jōtōmon'in. She excelled in talent and beauty, and her name is well-known posthumously because she wrote *Genji monogatari*. The Imperial Prince Takaakira, who was the son of Emperor Murakami and the Minister of the Left, fell deeply in love with Murasaki's beauty and talent, and he started sending her many letters where he composed several waka. Therefore, since Murasaki was a warm-hearted person, she gave herself to him. From then on, they met secretly several times. Since she was skilful, when they shared a bed, she would manage to lead intercourse successfully, without unnecessary words, with tenderness and abundant humours. But the Prince was exiled for various reasons, and Shikibu hid herself in Ishiyama Temple and wrote *Genji monogatari*. Thinking of her own predicament, in this tale she wrote only about love and deplored her sorrowful parting from Prince Takaakira. She modelled the Suma chapter after that night with a clouded-over moon. In the 60 chapters of *Genji monogatari* she wrote especially about Lady Murasaki, so her own name changed from the original Fuji Shikibu into Murasaki Shikibu.

In this passage, Murasaki is still presented as a thoughtful woman, and her reputation as the author of *Genji monogatari* is not omitted. This is also reflected in the two sexually-explicit lines, since she is described as a tender and careful lover. Again, the key to the shift from implicit to explicit is in the brevity of the conversion which substitutes the description of Murasaki's 'unparalleled affection' with her 'tenderness and abundant humours', creating an incongruity with the long-established portrayal. Although in *Meijo nasake kurabe* the emphasis on Murasaki's amorous nature was already forced (perhaps even irreverently towards a respected figure of the time), the humour in *Genji on-iro asobi* is more straightforward, since

it uses sex to revert a well-known story that was in the past used to convey moral precepts, as in *jokunsho*.

In the illustration, one scene depicts Murasaki Shikibu at the Ishiyama temple, and the other depicts a pair of lovers having sex. This may represent Murasaki recalling her lover as she began writing *Genji monogatari* at Ishiyama temple.



Figure 11 *Genji on-iro asobi* (9v-10r) - Murasaki Shikibu

Although a bigger proportion of the double-page spread is dedicated to the sexually explicit image, on the left there is still room for the iconic representation of Murasaki Shikibu, depicted at Ishiyamadera sitting at her desk, where she is writing *Genji monogatari*. In this sense, the juxtaposition in the same illustration of the traditional representation of the woman writer with the explicit depiction of lovemaking creates a counterpoint and plays on two different levels of representation.

#### b) Relation between the two works

In conclusion, we can safely argue that differences between *Meijo nasake kurabe* and the *shunpon* lie only in two aspects. First, the stories in *Genji on-iro asobi* are shorter. Second, they close with one or two lines containing explicit sexual references, while retaining the same content and similar layout. Thus, the layout of *Genji on-iro asobi*, which was atypical for a *shunpon*, was probably trying to imitate that which was typical of prose works of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as its source-text. The rewriting of the source-text plays mostly on the gap created between the common image of the protagonists as described in previous literature, and their suddenly revealed sexual life. This shift was somehow easy, as *Meijo nasake kurabe* had already pushed the interpretation of the same stories into the realm of the erotic. Some knowledge of the way that stories were previously narrated in *Meijo nasake kurabe* (and earlier

courtly literature) would presume the ability to compare the substitution that occurs in the *shunpon* rewriting, and then to enjoy the humorous adaptation more. Since the last book of *Meijo nasake kurabe* featured new stories about premodern courtesans, it was harder to create the same gap in representation since readers had a less strong expectation. This may be why the last book of the source text is not present in *On-iro asobi*.

The new erotic and humorous nature of *Genji on-iro asobi* may explain its popularity. From an analysis of extant copies of *Genji on-iro asobi* and *Kōshoku hana susuki*, I could identify that the copy in Nichibunken and that used for the facsimile are a *kabusebori* edition.<sup>131</sup> This can be explained by a loss of the original woodblocks in a fire or by their bad preservation due to the printing of too many copies. Indeed, it seems that *Genji on-iro asobi* was a well-sought after-title to the extent that the costs of cutting another set of blocks would have been justified. The popularity of this text is confirmed by the preface of another work. The author of *Genji on-iro asobi* Yama no Yatsu lists some of his achievements as a publisher and as an author in the introduction of *Kōshoku toko dangi* 好色床談義 (Erotic Discussions of the Bed Chamber, 1689).

[...] In the past, I composed *Renbōmizu kagami* (The Love Water-Mirror), and printed 800 copies; after that, I composed *Genji iro asobi* and, matching the expectations in the introduction, I printed 1000 copies. Also, I wrote *Saga momiji* 嵯峨紅葉 (The Autumn Leaves in Saga) and printed 700 copies. Before long, *Tabi makura* 旅枕 (The Pillow of the Travel) sold many copies as quickly as an arrow flies. Then, I composed *Yakusha daihyōban* 役者大評判 (Big Actors' Critique) and printed 2000 copies. Later, I composed *Kōshoku oboegaki* 好色覚書 (The Erotic Protocol) and even printed 700 copies.<sup>132</sup>

Even if we do not know whether it is possible to trust the author, these are impressive numbers for this period.<sup>133</sup> Except for *Yakusha daihyōban*, *Genji on-iro asobi* seems to be the most well-sought among these best-selling titles. Among the six texts cited in this introduction, two are *shunpon* like *Kōshoku toko dangi* itself, three are *kōshokubon* and one is an actor critique. Since the dates of publication of *Meijo nasake kurabe* and *Genji on-iro asobi* are so close, it is hard to imagine that another author had the time to absorb the previous text and

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<sup>131</sup> I use the definition of *kabusebori* given by Kornicki: a process where “printed pages from an earlier edition are used as the *hanshita* and are pasted onto the blocks for carving. This results in blocks that produce a text very similar to, but never, owing the vagaries of the carvers, identical to the original (...) Use of this method enabled the physical limitations of wooden printing blocks to be overcome, although at the cost of further investment in having new blocks carved.” Kornicki 1998, p. 49-52.

<sup>132</sup> This version of *Kōshoku toko dangi* is available in the private collection of Kamiya Katsuhiro. In Nagatomo 1999 there is also a reference to this preface.

<sup>133</sup> For example, we have some numbers referred to the sales of *Kiyomizu monogatari* 清水物語 (1638), one of the best-selling works of its time. It sold between 2000 and 3000 copies.

rewrite it. I argue that the same author wrote both texts.<sup>134</sup> If he really was the author of *Meijo nasake kurabe*, we can see that he started with an erotic text (*Meijo nasake kurabe*), wrote another *kōshokubon* (*Renbō mizukagami*, a love-related prose texts featuring also courtesans), and after *Genji on-iro asobi* (except for *Fūryū saga momiji*) he only wrote sexually explicit books.<sup>135</sup>

### c) Second book of *Genji on-iro asobi*

The second book pushes the humorous nature of this text further. The subtitle in the table of contents is *dōke-e* 道化絵 (Comic Pictures). Indeed, the 12 stories that follow are all playful, with a strong preference for more slapstick themes and jesting contents. The table of contents shows this trend:

1. Goddess being seduced by demon
2. The courtesan Yūgiri employing *harikata* in memory of her absent lover Izaemon
3. The lovers Utsuke and Oyuki are discovered and carried about the streets flagrante delicto
4. What the roofer saw from the rich man's roof
5. Dutchman with Nagasaki courtesan
6. Chinese man with Japanese courtesan
7. Jealous husband and wife's "chastity belt"
8. The abbot's embarrassing erection and the nun's response
9. The foolish profligate and the kabuki catamite
10. The manservant and his master's daughter
11. The maiden and her equine lover
12. Jō and Uba, the gods of marriage<sup>136</sup>

In these stories, everything is more than what it should normally be: in the fourth story, a rich man has sex with many women at the same time; in the fifth and sixth, foreigners use extravagant techniques in bed; in the tenth, the parents of a young woman do not realise she has sex with the manservant at their side; in the eleventh, the maiden has sex with a horse, etc. Often, we see a humorous effect achieved by a distortion of stereotypes (in this case, all related to 'normal sex'), achieved through exaggeration (stories 4, 5, 6, 11, etc.). Exaggeration is a standard strategy, often used throughout burlesque, parody, and satire.<sup>137</sup>

This second book appears in line with contemporary collections of short, comic stories, known as *karukuchi-bon* 軽口本, (lit. books of light-hearted tales at the height of their popularity when *Genji*

<sup>134</sup> Also, in *Kōshoku tabi makura* Yama no Yatsu signed as Kōshokuken (as in the preface of *Meijo nasake kurabe*) Ariwara no Narihira 好色軒在原の業平.

<sup>135</sup> To the list present in the preface, we should also add *Kōshoku chōhōki* 好色重宝記 (Sensual Treasury, 1690).

<sup>136</sup> English Translation of table of contents from Lane 1979.

<sup>137</sup> As described by Propp, exaggeration works through caricature (one particular feature is taken and exaggerated), hyperbole (the whole of the ridiculed object is exaggerated) and grotesque (the higher level of the exaggeration makes the object monstrous). Propp 2009, pp. 64-69.

*on-iro asobi* was published), fashionable in the Kamigata area between 1673 and 1772, and later known in Edo as *hanashibon* 咄本 (between 1773 and 1789, becoming later *rakugo-bon*). *Karukuchi-bon* are collections of humorous short stories, often in the form of a talk and also recited orally, that finished abruptly with an expression or preposition that inverts the narrative flow. Up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this was often achieved through puns and using similar-sounding words that had different meanings, but it has been acknowledged that situational humour was a common device too.<sup>138</sup> If humour in the first book sounded already similar to *ochi* in *rakugo*, the themes and devices used in this second book further strengthen this correlation. In particular, due to their oral tradition, these works are characterised using specific expressions to end the story. In the case of *karukuchi-bon*, stories usually end with variants of the locution ‘he/she said’ (といふた–と申した–と仰せられた, etc.). In fact, this happened also in the first volume (the story of Genji ended with ‘she said’, the story of Mano princess with ‘she thought’, and the last line of the story of Nijō with an exclamation).<sup>139</sup>

For example, the seventh story is as follows.

**A stupid man went to the countryside and closed his wife’s vagina with a daikon (12v)**

When he was going to the countryside, a man called Zundonukesaku said to his wife: “Since I am going to be away for a long time, what shall I do if you start to act loosely?” By way of precaution, he brought a big daikon without holes, thrust it into that place and left for the countryside. He was so stupid that the woman scorned it, and during his absence slept as she wanted with other men. After some time, the man came back from the countryside. The woman, surprised, went into the fields, took a daikon of three *sun* [around 24 cm] and without hesitation thrust it [there]. The man first wanted to look at that place and did so carefully. “How patient she has been? Even the daikon, maybe because it has a taste for that [vagina], became this big. Above all, even the leaves have grown fat!”, **he [said]** happily.

The situational humour mechanism here is based on misunderstanding. The effect is created through the wit of the whole situation, which is based on the man’s ignorance of what readers perceive as ‘common sense’. This deviation from acts recognised as ‘normal’ in comedy can come from a mishearing, or from the lack of a sort of knowledge that is supposed to be shared by everyone. This is usually present in so-called ‘moron stories’ (when the humour is at the expense of characters who are particularly stupid or deficient in some respect).<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> *Karukuchi-bon* and *hanashi-bon* were extremely popular during the Edo period. It has been claimed that more than 1000 of these works were published during the Edo period. See Suzuki 2009, pp.113-138 for a survey of the different types of humour at play in *kobanashi-bon*. Also see Oka Masahiko ‘*Kuchiai no hassei*’ in *Edo no warai* and *Edo kobanashi jiten*.

<sup>139</sup> About these characteristic expressions in *hanashi-bon*, see Suzuki 2009 pp. 59-60.

<sup>140</sup> Humour at the expense of characters who are deficient in some sense (physical disabilities, cultural disadvantages, moral flaws, etc.) is usually inscribed in superiority theory, which asserts that ‘we find the comic butts in such humour not merely different from us but also inferior to us’. Carroll 2014, p. 9.



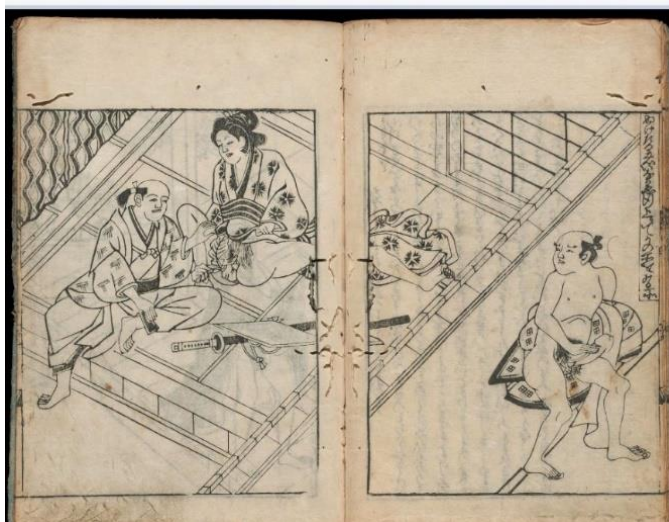


Figure 12 *Kōshoku hana susuki* (6v-7r)

The picture shows the man looking at the daikon which is supposed to have become bigger during his absence, while one of the woman's lovers runs away. In this sense, the humour seen in the text is recreated in the illustration. As in illustrations in the first book, the scene is divided into two parts. The part on the left follows the humorous character of the story narrated (although depicting the woman's genitals), while the part on the right seems more sexually charged.

The fourth story too is short and ends with a sudden narrative stunt.

**About the roofer who saw the rich man from the roof and (was caught by) worldly desires (5r)**

In the middle of the sixth month, a roofer called Yaneya Hikojirō came to repair the roof of a detached house of a rich man. After a while, the very rich man gathered many mistresses whose skin was as white as snow, undressed them and put them on all fours. At intervals, he put it in from the back, in a way that could be clearly seen. Hikojirō saw this from the roof, and found it really pleasant, so his passion was awakened. He masturbated there (一本をかきける) but could not endure it anymore and went back home. He stripped his wife and they had sex, but it was somehow and somewhat embarrassing and awkward. It

was completely different from what he saw at the mansion, and it was not nice to see. It was so weird **that** he said: we've done this already three times, let's stop it here!

Here we can clearly see that humour is not achieved through the sexual element itself, but by the gap between the luxurious scene that the roofer witnessed, and what happened when he tried to do the same thing at his home. This inversion, where the roles of the rich man and the roofer are reverted, is what provokes laughter.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>141</sup> "Inversion is an essential element in comic representations. For example: "Inversion. ... Picture to yourself certain characters in a certain situation: if you reverse the situation and invert the roles, you obtain a comic scene." Bergson 1911, p. 94.

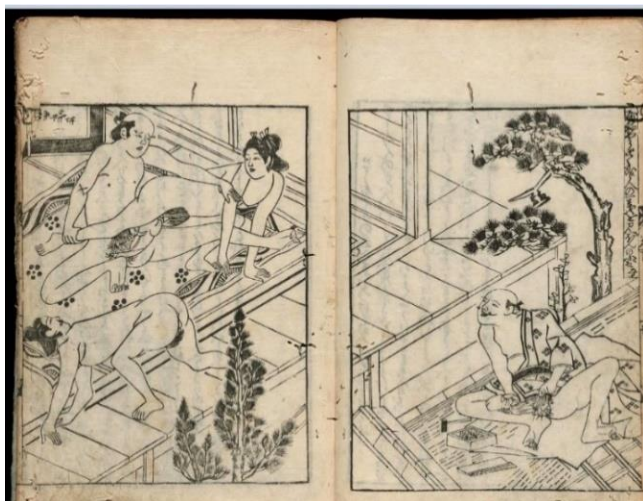


Figure 13 *Kōshoku hana susuki* (10v-11r)

This playful attitude is also expressed in the illustration. Here, the rich man is having sex with two women, but more than a sensual love-making scene, we see the man having intercourse in a bizarre position, while another woman is depicted on all fours, showing her rear to the readers and the roofer, who is pleasuring himself on the other page.

Everything considered, it must be noted that the use of sex in the two books is different. In the first, the humorous effect is achieved thanks to the gap between the explicitness of the new sexual depictions and the reputation of the protagonists as heroines of previous literature. Stories that were sometimes highly dramatic were suddenly changed into ‘low’ sexual scenes, as is common in parody. As explained by Freud, “Parody and travesty achieve the degradation of something exalted in another way: by destroying the unity that exists between people’s characters as we know them and their speeches and actions, by replacing either the exalted figures or their utterances by inferior ones.”<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, in the second book there is no parody, but several comic strategies are at play to link sex and humour.

## 2. *Kōshoku meijo makura*: a digest with a sex manual

Another erotic rewriting of *Meijo nasake kurabe*, *Kōshoku meijo makura*, appeared 5 years after *Genji on-iro asobi*. The title choice hints at the link with the source-text, adding a stronger erotic flavour (since *makura* substitutes *kurabe* and *kōshoku* substitutes *nasake*). *Kōshoku meijo makura* is a *hanshibon* in one volume and two books. The illustrator Shimomura Shichirōbei is named in the colophon. Not much is known about the Osaka publisher (Iseya Ichirōbe 伊勢屋市良兵衛). The layout of *Kōshoku meijo makura* is different from that of the *Meijo nasake kurabe* and the first rewriting, where text and pictures were kept in distinct pages.

<sup>142</sup> Freud 1960, p. 201.

In this work, we can identify two different components. First are folios with text only (10 out of 24.5 folios, of which one is for the preface and one for the index). Second are illustrated composite pages, that also include some text (14.5 folios). A typical half-folio of this type of composite page is made of three areas. In the lower part, there is a bigger illustration, often sexually explicit, occupying 4/6 of the whole page. In the upper part, a smaller non-sexually explicit picture (usually illustrating the contents of the story) is next to a short text (see Fig. 14).

The content of the text associated to the non-sexually explicit picture is always didactic. It teaches the meaning of the waka quoted and offers a short summary of the story known in previous literature. This makes this upper part similar to composite pages of educational works, as in the format of *jōzu kabun* 上図下文 (pictures on top, text at the bottom). The text that was the object of explanation in this format is substituted here with a romantic/sensual illustration.<sup>143</sup> For instance, a similar layout can be found in a later text, called *Ise monogatari eshō* 伊勢物語絵抄 (*Ise Monogatari Illustrated Commentary*, 1693) compiled by Nakamura Jōhaku 苗村常伯 (1674-1748). In this work, the headnotes at the top of the page explain the episodes that the adjacent pictures illustrate, while the text below is the passage object of the commentary (see fig. 15).



Figure 14 *Kōshoku meijo makura* - Ukon (10r)

<sup>143</sup> The suggestion of the use in early-modern Japan of *jōzu kabun* as a layout for didactic work was given in Follador, “Gluten-free literature: visual representations of rice cakes and saké in the seventeenth-century text *Shubeiron*.”



Figure 15 *Ise monogatari eshō*, section 5

In *Kōshoku meijo makura*, only the last 2 and a half folios differ in layout, lacking the small non-sexually explicit illustration on the upper side. This is because these folios have a different nature. While the text offers stories up to that point, these last pages are occupied by teachings about sex. As a comparison with the layout of *shunpon* of this period shows, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the most common format for *shunpon* came to be that of Moronobu, with bigger pictures (2/3) in the lower part and captions at the top of the page (1/3). The format of the illustrated composite pages of *Kōshoku meijo makura* is not imitating its source-text, but is consciously taking on board mainstream *shunpon* of the time, also resembling the format of commentaries and educational works.

*Kōshoku meijo makura* is a collection of 27 stories featuring famous couples of the past (15 in book one, 12 in book two). Not all of the stories are illustrated. Four stories are not illustrated; three stories have an accompanying illustration. As Table 3 shows, the five episodes not taken from *Meijo nasake kurabe* have accompanying illustrations. In total, more than 80% of the stories presented in *Kōshoku meijo makura* come from *Meijo nasake kurabe*, though their order of appearance is different.

**Table 3 Protagonists of *Kōshoku meijo makura* and *Meijo nasake kurabe* (grey- no text-only; pattern- no composite page)**

	<i>Kōshoku meijo makura</i>	Text only	Composite page	MNK
Book one	Princess Sotoori	○	○	○
	Princess Tamayo (Mano Princess)	○	○	○
	Uneme	○	○	○
	Empress Nijō	○	○	○
	High Priestess of Ise	○	○	○
	Ichi no miya (Kin'aki's daughter)	○		○
	Ono no Komachi	○		○
	Komachi's sister	○	○	○
	Izumi Shikibu	○	○	○
	Kyōgoku the intimate	○	○	○
	Murasaki Shikibu	○	○	○
	Ukon		○	○
	Kōtō no Naishi		○	○
	Michitsuna's mother		○	
	Senju		○	
Book 2	Shokushinai Shin'nō	○	○	○
	Kozaishō	○	○	○
	Suō no naishi	○	○	○
	Ayame no mae	○	○	
	Yokobue	○	○	○
	Yūgao	○	○	
	Empress Toba-in	○	○	○
	Akazome Emon's younger sister	○	○	○
	Woman of Musashino	○	○	○
	Tsukumogami	○	○	
	Kesa Gozen	○		○
	Goō	○		○

The presence of women who appear only in *Meijo nasake kurabe* suggests a strong intertextual relationship. The preface of *Kōshoku meijo makura* reinforces this impression:

Once upon a time, I found in an armour chest a scroll that I transcribe here. It was made of 40 something [sections] and expressed 8 different kinds of things. Even if [these things] still exist, in our current society there are several [things] impermanent [like] cherry flowers, but to an amorous person like me (色好みの我に) such people are not known.<sup>144</sup> [...] I thought that seeing [real] examples [helps to] act with restraint and to conform to proper behaviour, although it may be hard. So, I have named this work *Kōshoku meijo makura*, and I have accurately put together and written down the aspect of liaisons of people of the past in the way of ying-yang (陰陽二の品に古人の色あるさま). These things [liaisons] were first researched by Murasaki Shikibu, who in the 54 chapters acquired thorough knowledge. By loving the past of Ise

<sup>144</sup> Meaning: in our society things are as transient as cherry flower, so even if things described in the scroll still exists, they are not known by people today.

*monogatari*, it is possible to attain enlightenment of the so-called last way (death) and the way of Buddhism. I cite examples of [how] even strong warriors were caught by passion and ruined themselves. Those who will see this will reconsider their present living and will probably start to think about their misbehaviour.

The author opens the preface suggesting that it deals with interaction between men and women. In the same way as *shunga* pictures were said to be, put in armour coffins to protect warriors in battles, so this book was found in an armour chest. The passage uses words connected to the erotic sphere, such as ‘*irogonomi*’ 色好み (sensuality), *in’yō* 陰陽 (Ying and yang, harmony between men and women) and ‘*iro*’, the same term that appeared often in the preface of *Meijo nasake kurabe*. The use of the word ‘*iro*’, in particular, is not casual. This preface closely follows that of *Meijo nasake kurabe*. Not only do we see the same quotation from *Tsurezuregusa* (武ものゝふも色におほれて身を失し), but the concept expressed is very similar: namely, no matter how strong, all people fall in love, and this power will make them reconsider their past. Additionally, there is here also a reference to *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* as works about love with the power to enlighten people on the way to Buddhahood. As it was with *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the aim of the book is to talk about love and sensuality, hiding this under a rhetoric loosely associated to Buddhism. The reason for the title choice is explained as the intention to list ‘liaisons of people of the past’, something that connotes the aim of providing a collection of ‘examples of love’ stories that was stated in the preface of *Meijo nasake kurabe*.

#### a) Translations and analysis of selected passages

The first story in the text-only page that is shared with *Meijo nasake kurabe* and *Genji on-iro asobi* revolves around the Mano Princess (5v).

##### The grass cutter Sanro, the flute at night<sup>145</sup>

The daughter of a wealthy man in the Province of Tsukushi, called Princess Tamayo, was of incomparable beauty. At the [Imperial] palace, Emperor Yōmei heard about her, but even if he summoned her [to be] the Empress, she would not obey the Imperial command. Since the Emperor was yearning [for this love], he secretly left the palace and went to Tsukushi, where he became the grass cutter of the wealthy man [Princess’ father], playing the flute all the time. The Princess, who did not even dream of him being the Emperor, thought that was a gentle [thing], and secretly invited him into a magnificent chamber. [In front of the greatness of the lord, the Princess uttered the first cry (姫ははつねを出してえならぬ契をぞし給ひけり)], and they [pledged] each other an incredibly wonderful love. After that, she became the Empress, and she prospered with much more grace.

<sup>145</sup> Sanro is the name that Emperor Yōmei used when he disguised as a grass cutter.



This story sounds similar to that in *Meijo nasake kurabe*, in style and words used. Moreover, the content is the same. The first thing that can be assumed is that, although the atmosphere is erotic, as it was in the source-text, there are no explicit sexual parts.

The text on top of the composite page is as follows:

**Emperor Yōmei**

People who do not know at all the feeling provoked by knowing love and the old truth in it [may think]: why would the Emperor disguise himself as a humble and shabby person; is that not troublesome? There is the poem

*Would that I possessed a way- a path to travel unobserved, Secret as Mount Shinobu's name- to behold  
the innermost recesses of your heart*<sup>146</sup>

The Emperor's heart can be understood in this way.

The content of both texts is then unexpectedly non-sexual despite the kind of work in which it is featured. We see that the text-only section is using the story in *Meijo nasake kurabe*, but without making it explicit. The short text in the composite page is further referring, although briefly, to the same episode, quoting the same waka that was in the source-text but explaining its meaning.<sup>147</sup> The impression of a work only somehow erotic is reinforced by the picture. The picture is still not sexually explicit, but erotic, showing a couple hugging.



**Figure 16** *Kōshoku meijo makura* - Tamayo no hime (4r)

We note here two things: first, the non-explicit picture in the upper part also depicts Emperor Yōmei on an ox, similarly to *Genji on-iro asobi*, and looking like the double-page illustration

<sup>146</sup> McCullough 1968.

<sup>147</sup> Despite the lack of connection to *Ise monogatari*, where this waka is originally featured (15), the same waka was also in the story about the Mano princess in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. This confirms that this work is rewriting *Meijo nasake kurabe*.

that was in *Genji on-iro asobi* that was split into two parts, one erotic and one not. In this case, though, the picture does not even depict love-making, but only the two youths hugging.

Another story we have seen in both the source-text and the first *shunpon* is that of Empress Nijō. Let's see its treatment in the text-only section of *Kōshoku meijo makura* (6r).

#### Empress Nijō and her promise to Narihira

When Emperor Nijō was not yet serving the Emperor and she was living with her cousin Empress Somedono, the lecherous Ason had a connection and started to habitually come on and off to visit her. He ingratiated Nijō, got closer and they became familiar. When at some point, **they won each other's heart, looking at them was like the appearance of the plum and the cherry mixing their scents, and, needless to say, it had a diverse charm.**

Empress Somedono was surprised, and she hurried to put a guard to protect the route he used for his visits. Since the Lieutenant General was blocked now at the stone bridge, but he and Empress Nijō loved each other and could not pledge love at night, Empress Somedono was moved to pity and she set the guard free, so the affection of the heart of the couple became deeper.

The content is the same as the source-text. As in *Meijo nasake kurabe*, the atmosphere is erotic, with the description of the couple together (like 'the plum and the cherry mixing their scents'), but again it never goes as far as to become explicit.

The text in the composite page has no sexually explicit part and says:

*Would that he might fall asleep every night – this guard at the secret place where I come and go*

The meaning [of the poem] is that, since the opening in the tile-roofed wall by which he used to come and go was strictly protected by a guard, he could not visit (her) again. At some point, how nice would it be if [the guard] could neglect [his work] and sleep. Empress Somedono was moved to pity and set the guard free, so Narihira could visit [Empress Nijō] and she let them meet.

In other words, the text-only section sounds like a summary of the contents of the story in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. In the composite page, the text is again dedicated to the explanation of the same waka from *Ise monogatari* that was already in *Meijo nasake kurabe*. In the bigger picture, we do not have a lovemaking scene, but only the lovers hugging. The small picture looks very similar to that in *Meijo nasake kurabe* and *Ise monogatari*. In this case again, it looks like the composite page dismantles the double-page picture that was in *Genji on-iro asobi*, depicting the couple in the bigger part, and the other scene in the smaller (in *Genji on-iro asobi*, though, on the other page we had Empress Somedono peeping at the couple, and not the traditional scene of the guards protecting the way of *Ise monogatari* 5 depicted in *Kōshoku meijo makura*).





Figure 17 *Kōshoku meijo makura* - Empress Nijō (5r)

The story of Murasaki Shikibu in the text-only page (11r) of *Kōshoku meijo makura* becomes much shorter.

#### Pleasuring oneself while thinking about the loved one -Murasaki Shikibu

Murasaki Shikibu, who wrote the story of the Shining Genji, really understood the heart of the Imperial Prince of the Emperor Murasaki and Minister of the Left, and she was incomparably in love. Far from other people's eyes, their relationship was intimate. For some reasons, Takaakira was sent to Tsukushi. Murasaki, who could not bear that sorrow, created the character of Genji, likening him to this person. [In that tale] she wrote down all sorts of love related things.

The only possible allusion to sex is in the title, since *ategaki*, written with two different characters, may mean both 'to masturbate' (当搔) or to 'address a letter' (宛書), but in this case, it is (maybe intentionally) left in hiragana. The story being this short, it indeed sounds like a summary. The text inscribed in the composite page is:

One day, the High Priestess of Kamo retired, and she asked the Empress whether there were any new original stories. The Empress ordered Murasaki Shikibu to create [something] and bring it [to her]. Murasaki accepted the order, hid herself at the Ishiyama Temple, where she prayed Kannon and she created all the tale. Since there was nobody as wise as Murasaki, this was a collection of love related things dedicated to Takaakira.

In this case too, the story is the same as the source-text and again conveys the idea that *Genji monogatari* was a work written for Lord Takaakira. In any case, we can find no explicit reference to sex.



Figure 18 *Kōshoku meijo makura* - Murasaki Shikibu (9v)

In the composite page, the bigger picture is explicit, showing the couple having sex. In the small picture, Murasaki is still depicted in the act of writing *Genji monogatari* at the Ishiyama Temple. The non-explicit representation of this famous woman, then, does not change in the three texts, but in the two *shunpon* the same picture is combined with another one eventually showing intercourse. The common image of her sitting at her desk is flanked by this sexually-related representation, which, thanks to this contrast, probably amused readers. Another amusing element is probably the use of *mitate*, since despite the reference to an Heian-period court lady, both the hairstyle and the format of the books are those of the Edo period. The books scattered around the couple having sex in *Kōshoku meijo makura* look like a reference to Murasaki Shikibu as a writer, but also to books like *Kogetsushō*, used by courtesans as symbol of their refinement and education. In the texts, the text-only section describes the love story between Murasaki and Takaakira, while the text in the composite page briefly illustrates the origin of *Genji monogatari*, sounding more educational.

In general, we can see a clear separation in stories and pictures: the small picture and the associated text in the composite page always represent the traditional depiction of the story, while the bigger picture and the text-only pages focus on the sensual side, following the interpretation of that story given in *Meijo nasake kurabe*, and sometimes depicts explicit lovemaking (in the pictures). The constant presence of famous waka and of their explanation suggests that this text functions as a way to teach waka to its readers. So we see a double nature of *Kōshoku meijo makura*, both educational (giving readers knowledge about previous literature and waka) and entertaining (focusing on the sensual side, although never becoming too explicit). In total, among the 27 pictures, 17 are sexually explicit (where we consider

explicit to be not only the representation of genitalia, but also of couples lying together in bed) and 10 are implicit (showing mostly couples hugging). Hence, these 17 cases depict what is ‘beyond’ the standard representations, making explicit what in the source-text was left implicit.

Although both *Genji on-iro asobi* and *Kōshoku meijo makura* are rewritings of the same source-text, we can acknowledge here the use of two different intertextual strategies. While in *Genji on-iro asobi* there was humour created through close parody, in *Kōshoku meijo makura* the same texts are reduced to a digest version, and, as in the source-text, never go beyond the realm of the erotic. The ‘*shunpon* element’ is given in only 2/3 of the illustrations, and only with allusions in the text.<sup>148</sup>

## b) Sex manual

Besides the narrative part, *Kōshoku meijo makura* also has 2 folios and a half dedicated to the teaching of sexual health hygiene in the manner of *shinansho* 指南書 (sex manual, see fig.19). These teachings are organised into four sections: ‘How to recognise a good or a bad woman’ 女の善悪をしる事 (teaching that having sex with a good woman leads to longevity);<sup>149</sup> ‘Aphrodisiac potion’ よがり薬の事, and ‘How to make a potion’ 薬こしらへやうの事 (giving recipes for the creation of aphrodisiac potions); ‘Etiquette for the way of youths’ 衆道床入の諸礼 (explaining a ‘secret way’ to enjoy intercourse with youths, avoiding provoking pain).



Figure 19 *Kōshoku meijo makura* (22v-23r)

These sections are all quoted verbatim from a previous *shinansho*, *Kōshoku tabi makura* 好色旅枕 (The Erotic Pillow of the Travel, 1684-86) written and published by Yama no Yatsu in Kyoto. There is still a lot of confusion about this work, since another work with the same

<sup>148</sup> In chapter 3, a story from *Kōshoku meijo makura* will be translated and analysed to show the interpretation of *Ise monogatari* and Narihira. Unlike the stories translated in this chapter, allusive at the most, this story has a sexually explicit sentence in the text-only section. This is rather an exception, and no other explicit part is found in the rest of the 26 stories.

<sup>149</sup> Originally, in Chinese sex manuals and later in Japanese *shinansho*, it was commonly explained that practicing sex in the correct way has the same results as a medicine for long life. See Ishigami 2015, section 1.2, ‘*Chūgoku yōjōsho to enpon*’, pp. 55-82, Koch 2013.

title was published in Edo in 1695 (compiler Ishikawa Tomonobu 石川流宣, illustrator Furuyama Moroshige 古山師重).<sup>150</sup> These two books have sometimes been considered the same work by scholars, but their close reading reveals that the Edo text is derived from the Kyoto one.<sup>151</sup> More precisely, the Edo version combines verbatim quotations of several parts of the first *Tabi makura* and of the aforementioned *Kōshoku kinmōzui*, and the last part of *Kōshoku meijo makura* comes from this version too. In the Kyoto edition of *Kōshoku tabi makura*, the protagonist Narihira is the narrator. All sections start with “Once upon a time, the man said” (むかし男のいはく), the man being Narihira (and this does not happen in the Edo version of *Kōshoku tabi makura*). This further demonstrates that the part in *Kōshoku meijo makura* comes from the Kyoto version.<sup>152</sup>

The insertion in *Kōshoku meijo makura* of parts from a popular sex manual like *Kōshoku tabi makura* can also be explained as an attempt to convey knowledge on sex.<sup>153</sup> Up to this point, mostly literary knowledge had been conveyed in the text, while parts teaching sexual education cannot be identified. Thus, combining these entertaining stories with parts from a popular *shinansho* in the end may have been a way to increase the level of sexual education, and also to add variety to the contents of the book, in order to make the work more appealing to readers.

## CONCLUSION

In the analysis conducted here I have explained why I argue that *Meijo nasake kurabe* is a *kōshokubon*. It is possible to say that *Meijo nasake kurabe* is erotic. In *Genji on-iro asobi*, all the parts about the deep affection of the protagonists that characterise *Meijo nasake kurabe* are substituted with the celebration of sexual fulfilment. Except for these aspects, the structure and language used are the same. Hence, the last lines have the effect of making explicit what in *Meijo nasake kurabe* was left implicit. This passage from implicit to explicit, hence from erotic to sexually explicit, is playing on the subversion of what is supposed to be the norm and creating an incongruity that provokes laughter. By substituting what the readers expect - the

<sup>150</sup> The Kyoto version is available online at the Nichibunken database, while the Edo version is in the Ritsumeikan ARC database.

<sup>151</sup> See Noma 1984, Yoshida in NKBD.

<sup>152</sup> The third page of the section about the aphrodisiac potions has an abrupt end, and the fourth page starts with two lines that seem unlinked. This is due to a possible error of copying from *Tabi makura*, or some pages missing in *Kōshoku meijo makura*, since two folios were originally in the source-text between these two leaves of *Meijo makura*.

<sup>153</sup> We have another validation of this theory of the popularity of *Kōshoku tabi makura* in the presence of the Edo edition, but also of *Kōshoku otogibōko*, published in 1695 too, and which takes verbatim several parts from this *Kōshoku tabi makura* and *Kōshoku kinmōzui*. Until now, *Kōshoku kinmōzui* has been considered the most famous sexual compendium of these years. Since *Kōshoku meijo makura* was published in 1686, and uses some parts of *Kōshoku tabi makura*, we can assume that this was published before 1686, and then before *Kōshoku kinmōzui*. A copy of *Kōshoku otogibōko* is online on the website of the Honolulu Museum of Art, and a facsimile is in Lane 1979.

depiction of the love of famous ‘dignified’ women and the rhetoric of romantic love - with a completely unexpected and “low” description of sex, the text produces humour from this gap, as often happens in parody.

In the case of *Kōshoku meijo makura*, the boundary of the ‘erotic’ is not trespassed. The passage from implicit to explicit, then, takes place in the realm of pictures only, and not always. It is only through some pictures that what was just hinted at in the text finally happens. In *Kōshoku meijo makura*, the author does not want to achieve a humorous effect but to exploit the popularity of the source-text conveying also literary contents and sexual health precepts. Here, we have a serious transformation, which summarises the contents of the source-text, as happens in digests. Considering this, it is possible to conclude that the first *shunpon* is a parody and the second is a digest which from time to time turns the erotic penchant of the source-text into the sexually explicit.

Thanks to the case of *Genji on-iro asobi* and to pictures in *Kōshoku meijo makura*, we see that in *shunpon* production we have not only an aside-discourse (as suggested by Moretti) or a counter-discourse (as in Gerstle’s vision), but also what I call an internal-discourse. This implies the move from implicit to explicit but with the same contents. In the preface of *Genji on-iro asobi* the intended readership was described as ‘young people’, while in the afterword the educational intent is expressed clearly. In the second case-study, the educational nature is even more evident, since in the last part contents of a previous sex manual are inserted. All these elements make it possible to conclude that in both cases the primary purpose is educational, aiming to teach young and inexperienced people how to have sex, although *Genji on-iro asobi* is less educational and more humorous.

The study of these two *shunpon* also sheds light on the source-text itself. The reason why *Meijo nasake kurabe* was chosen as the source-text is because it was erotic (thus easy to adapt to *shunpon*) and popular. Even if today it is considered a minor work, the existence of two *shunpon* rewritings published up to five years after its first publication and of three printed editions suggest that this work was in fact more appreciated at the time than we acknowledge today. A publisher would never invest the huge amount of money to create a new set of woodblocks for a work without aiming for good sales (in the case of *Genji on-iro asobi*, not only was a *kaidaibon* published a few years after, but we know of the existence of two sets of woodblocks, and that it was published in 1000 copies, confirming its popularity at the time). These *shunpon* rewritings probably use source-texts (*Meijo nasake kurabe* and *Kōshoku tabi makura*, both of which were two much sought-after titles of these years, as we have seen) to appeal to more readers. The transformation to *shunpon* is a cunning decision on the part of the

publisher to sell more copies of the original work and of its rewritten *shunpon* counterparts. Enhancing sexual contents moving from implicit to explicit was used as a shrewd strategy to sell more of the source-text and the *shunpon*. More generally, I consider this proof of a growing awareness on the part of publishers and authors of what sold well.

## Chapter Two

### List with a twist: *Makura no sōshi* reinterpreted

This chapter explores *shunpon* rewritings that relate to *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book, early 11th century) by Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (964? – c. 1027).<sup>154</sup> *Makura no sōshi* existed in numerous variants until the Edo period, when it underwent a remarkable number of intertextual manipulations, such as commentaries, repackaging, and parodies. Despite this, only two *shunpon* rewritings of *Makura no sōshi* have survived. These are *Ehon Haru no akebono* 笑本春の曙 (The Comic Spring Dawn, 1773) by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739 – 1820) and *Ukiyo no itoguchi* 浮世糸具知 (The Beginning of the Floating World, 1780) by Katsukawa Shunshō.

Why only two *shunpon*? Are they rewritings of *Makura no sōshi* or do they use later re-adaptations of the Heian text? What are the rewriting techniques? What is the relationship between the two *shunpon*? What is the role of sex and sexually explicit pictures in the *shunpon* rewritings? What is their aim? Can we say something about the audience of *shunpon* based on these case studies? To answer these questions, this chapter will consider the following points. First, it will explore the extent to which *Makura no sōshi* was read in the Edo period and how readers considered it at the time. Second, it will examine some of the rewritings that became prominent, to show how some of them substituted the source text and re-conceptualised *Makura no sōshi* into an erotically-charged text aimed at men. Finally, it will analyse the *shunpon*, trying to clarify their sources, aims and intended readership.

Until now, previous studies on these *shunpon* are limited to three. Both Hayashi Yoshikazu in 1980 and Hayakawa Monta in 2004 have shown that *Ehon haru no Akebono* and *Ehon Asahiyama* 絵本朝日山 (Illustrated Book: Asahi Mountain, 1741), illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu, are closely linked. Recently, Gergana Ivanova has analysed *Haru no Akebono*, suggesting a gendered nature to this work as targeted to a female audience.<sup>155</sup> *Ukiyo*

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<sup>154</sup> As is known, *Makura no sōshi* is made up of approximately 300 disconnected lists, diary-like entries, and essay-like passages. It is usually listed among texts that form the corpus of the so-called “Heian literature,” and, due to its heterogeneous nature, it is usually considered miscellanea (*zuihitsu* 随筆).

Nowadays, *Makura no sōshi* has been viewed as existing in four textual lineages, namely *Den Nōin shojihon* 伝能因所持本 (“The book in possession of Nōin”), also known as the *Nōinbon*; *Sankanbon keitō shohon* 三卷本系統諸本 (“The books from the three-volume lineage”), frequently referred to as the *Sankanbon*; the *Maedakebon* 前田家本 (“The book of the Maeda family”); and the *Sakaibon* 堺本 (“The book from Sakai”).

<sup>155</sup> See Hayashi 1980 and Ivanova 2011. An English translation also appears in Hayakawa Monta (ed.), *Ehon Haru no akebono*, 2004.

*itoguchi* has been examined only by Hayashi, who interpreted it as a rewriting of *Makura no sōshi*.<sup>156</sup>

### 1. *Makura no sōshi* as a canonical text: reception vs reputation

To date, studies on *Ehon haru no akebono* and *Ukiyo no itoguchi* have considered them parodies of *Makura no sōshi*, because of the supposedly ‘canonical status’ of this text. But did *Makura no sōshi* enjoy the status of a canonical text in early modern Japan as it does now? To address this question, we must define the term ‘canon’. One of the meanings listed in the *English Oxford Dictionary* is: “The list of works considered to be permanently established as being of the highest quality.”<sup>157</sup> The use of ‘permanently’ here implies a static conception of this term; nevertheless, scholars have recently challenged this view. Herrnstein Smith suggests that the meaning and value of a work are constructed by the readers’ (both individual and as hegemonic groups) assessment of the text’s capability of fulfilling some required roles in specific historical and social settings. According to this view:

all value is radically contingent, being neither a fixed attribute, an inherent quality, or an objective property of things, but, rather, an effect of multiple, continuously changing, and continuously interacting variables or, to put this another way, the product of the dynamics of a system, specifically an economic system.<sup>158</sup>

Similarly, in Japanese literary history, Haruo Shirane has questioned the view of the canon as a rigid and immutable corpus of texts, demonstrating that genres and texts considered “classics” are also exposed to a shifting process, due to historical and economical changes in society. Therefore, Shirane proposes a list of conditions necessary for a text to be considered “canonical” in the Japanese context:

(1) the preservation, collation, and transmission of a text or its variants, which was critical prior to printing in the 17th century; (2) extensive commentary, exegesis, and criticism; (3) the use of a text in a school curriculum; (4) the employment of a text as a model for diction, style, or grammar, or as a source of allusion and reference, both of which were critical to medieval construction of the poetic canon; (5) the use of a text as a source for knowledge of historical institution and institutional precedents (*yūsoku kojitsu*), which was of critical importance for both court and warrior administrations; (6) the adoption of a text as the embodiment of a set of religious beliefs; (7) the inclusion of a text in anthologies; (8) the construction of genealogies and lines of descent, an important technique for schools and scholarly families; (9) the writing of literary histories, which occurred from the Meiji period; and (10) the incorporation of a text into institutional discourse, particularly state ideology.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> *Edo Enpon Daijiten; Shunshō*, vol. 3. Shirakura also introduced this work as a parody of *Makura no sōshi*. See Shirakura 2007.

<sup>157</sup> *English Oxford Dictionary*.

<sup>158</sup> Smith 1988, p. 30.

<sup>159</sup> Shirane-Suzuki 2000, p. 3.



When we look at the canon formation in these terms, we realise that the position of *Makura no sōshi* in literary history is much more complex than is usually acknowledged. This text was not necessarily widely read after the Heian period, and came to be considered canonical only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, it was first placed among ‘canonical’ works such as *Genji monogatari* and *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (Essays in Idleness, 1330-1332) only in 1922, when Japanese scholars were trying to find Japanese works that were suitable to represent the national literature at home and abroad, according to the newly imported Western literary standards.<sup>160</sup> This confirms Smith’s view that “the value of ‘works of art’ and ‘literature’ is the interactive reaction between the classification of an entity and the functions it is expected or desired to perform”.<sup>161</sup> In other words, *Makura no sōshi* was rediscovered at the beginning of the 20th century exactly because of its function as a modern text that Japanese critics wanted to perform on the wider stage of world literature.

Until then, it had played only a secondary role in the literary panorama. While works like *Genji monogatari* and *Tsurezuregusa* shared an aura of authority that seemed unassailable, *Makura no sōshi* has often been evaluated as a second-rate literary work. For instance, during the Tokugawa period, it has been suggested that *Tsurezuregusa* was read instead of *Makura no sōshi*, as it was considered an acceptable substitute.<sup>162</sup> This was possible because *Makura no sōshi* came to be known as the model for *Tsurezuregusa*, and was paired with it under the label of *zuihitsu*, based on similarities of formal features. This consideration of *Makura no Sōshi* leads us to speculate that it may not have been read in its entirety by the popular reader, but that it still had a *reputation* as part of the corpus of Heian texts. To further support this speculation, we must first look at the number of its printed editions. Then, we should analyse those texts that helped readers to fully understand *Makura no sōshi* in early modern Japan (usually commentaries), to discern whether they helped to merely circulate the content of the text among readers, or if they played a more intrusive role.

It is significant to note that *Makura no sōshi* was printed only a few times. In the 17th century, with the rise of the printing industry, most of the corpus of earlier fictional literature was brought into print and these texts began to circulate among a wider audience. It is known that by the end of the seventeenth century both *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* had been published in numerous editions (as we will see in the following chapters). In total, we can count

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<sup>160</sup> Tomi Suzuki, “The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism,” in Shirane-Suzuki 2000, pp. 243-87.

<sup>161</sup> Smith 1988, p. 32.

<sup>162</sup> See Chance, “Zuihitsu and Gender: *Tsurezuregusa* and *The Pillow Book*,” in Shirane-Suzuki 2000, 120-147. *Tsurezuregusa*, though, was more appreciated because of its historical references.

only four printed editions of *Makura no sōshi* during the Edo period: first the *kokatsujibon* version (1624-44), then the editions of 1649, 1856 and 1867. According to the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, among the 233 extant copies of *Makura no sōshi*, only 88 are printed copies.

Commentaries too are strictly related to the appreciation of a text by its readers. Due to textual and linguistic difficulties, accessing a printed copy was not enough to read a Heian text in the Edo period. Without an adequate knowledge of Heian-period language, this corpus of texts was probably almost unintelligible at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, commentaries were needed to make Heian texts accessible to the early-modern public, but no commentaries of *Makura no sōshi* were produced during the first seventy years of the Edo period. This suggests that in the meantime the popular reader could not access this text in its entirety.<sup>163</sup> Conversely, it also suggests that there was no demand for commentaries of this work to be produced.

The first commentary of *Makura no sōshi*, *Sei Shōnagon Makura no sōshishō* 清少納言枕双紙抄 (Commentary of Sei Shōnagon's Pillow Book), was printed relatively late, in 1674, written by Katō Bansai 加藤磐斎 (1621-1674), a scholar and *haikai* poet of the Teimon school of *haikai*. Two months after its publication, another commentary on *Makura no sōshi*, *Shunshoshō* 春曙抄 (The Spring Dawn Commentary) was completed by Kitamura Kigin. Finally, in 1681 *Makura no sōshi bōchū* 枕草紙傍註 (Marginal Notes to The Pillow Book) by Okanishi Ichū 岡西惟中 (1639-1711) was written.<sup>164</sup>

Another category of texts that explained the contents of earlier literature and conveyed knowledge about previous works needed at the time was *jokunsho*. As argued by Ivanova, after the second half of the 17th century, this text came to be associated with didactic works for women. The way *Makura no sōshi* was quoted in these Edo-period didactic works serves as further proof that the whole Heian text was not necessarily read. More than incorporating verbatim quotations of parts of *Makura no sōshi*, *jokunsho* displayed the author Sei Shōnagon as an exceptionally gifted and intelligent model of woman writer.<sup>165</sup> This is a rather different treatment of a supposedly *canonical* text, since we know that other works, such as *Ise monogatari* and *Hyakunin isshu*, were often extensively cited. Commentaries and *jokunsho* seem to suggest that *Makura no sōshi* was not read in its entirety. If that is so, we must

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<sup>163</sup> Shirakura Kazuyoshi 1996, p. 76.

<sup>164</sup> Compared to this, other works' commentaries were produced much earlier: for example, *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One hundred Poets, One Poem Each, 13th c.) first printed commentary, *Hyakunin isshu shō* 百人一首抄, appeared in 1631 and *Ise monogatari ketsugishō* (The Commentary of Vacuous Questions) in 1634.

<sup>165</sup> Ivanova 2011.

investigate further the kind of reputation that the text acquired, and what was possibly read instead.

### 1. First substitution: *Makura no sōshi* and its reputation as a succession of lists

Since I have contended that the text of *Makura no sōshi* itself was not “received” much during the Edo period, it is arguable that, more important than “the text” and its reception, were its replacements. In the case of *Makura no sōshi*, the works involved in this substitution are commentaries, illustrated versions and parodies.<sup>166</sup> This is particularly true for two texts: the commentary *Shunshoshō* and the abridged illustrated edition *Ehon Asahi-yama* (parodies will be analysed in a distinct section).

*Shunshoshō* was first published in 12 volumes and the first edition has an afterword dated 1674. While we have only four editions of *Makura no sōshi*, *Shunshoshō* counts at least six dated editions in the Edo period, and sixteen different textual variants of *Shunshoshō* have been counted. Today, the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books lists 220 extant copies of this work. Only seven are manuscripts while 211 are printed books, suggesting that *Shunshoshō* was an editorial success.<sup>167</sup> Besides the publishing aspect, *Shunshoshō* also substituted *Makura no sōshi* as a base for other texts. Both fragmentary commentaries that appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries, and studies on *Makura no sōshi*’s grammar, vocabulary and literary style, are all based on *Shunshoshō*.<sup>168</sup> It is hard not to see in the popularity of this commentary evidence of the substitution that *Shunshoshō* carried out after its first publication, to the detriment of the Heian text.

The other text that replaced *Makura no sōshi* for readers is *Ehon Asahi-yama*, published relatively late in 1741. ‘Late’ means considerably after the illustrated editions of other famed Heian works, such as *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*, already illustrated in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This is the first and only illustrated version of *Makura no sōshi*, and is considerably abridged. *Ehon Asahi-yama* has a preface signed by the editor Minamoto Sekkō

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<sup>166</sup> For this study, instead of ‘reception’ I follow Michael Emmerich’s idea of the ‘replacement’ of canonical texts by different versions of themselves. See Emmerich 2013. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

<sup>167</sup> Among the six dated editions, the most popular is the 1674 edition. Another has a preface signed 1676. The following editions date back to 1729, 1789, 1794 and 1836 (as a collection in one volume signed by Ban Nobutomo). Some physical elements suggest the existence of several editions (number of volumes, the presence of the appendix *Makura no sōshi shōzokushō* 枕草紙装束抄 [Decorated Commentary of the Pillow Book by Tsuboi Yoshichika 壺井義知] at the end, the presence or absence of the epilogue, different seals). See Yamazaki 2004, pp. 81-83.

<sup>168</sup> These texts are later commentaries and studies on index styles (*ruihyō* 類標) or synonyms (*ruigo* 類語) as *Makura no sōshi ruihyō* 枕草子類標. Still in 1925, the commentary by Kaneko Motoomi was completed based on this commentary of 1674. See also Nakanishi 1991 and Tanaka Jūtarō 1971. Also, in the *jokunsho Onna kanninki yamatobumi* 女堪忍記大倭文 (1713) by Hasegawa Myōtei 長谷川妙貞, the text shows traces of heavy borrowing from *Shunshoshō*. See Ivanova 2011, pp. 166-212. For an in-depth survey of *Shunshoshō*, its relationship with *Makura no sōshi*, and the didactic aim see Lesigne-Audoly 2013.

みなもと折江, and at the end the afterword is signed by the illustrator Nishikawa Sukenobu. According to the introductory remarks and the preface, the aim of the work is to update the old text written by Sei Shōnagon, by introducing illustrations that follow the fashion of the time.<sup>169</sup> What Sekkō seems to stress is that, despite the insertion of contemporary illustrations, the text has not been modified at all. The introductory remarks read:

This work [*Asahiyama*] is entirely the same book that Sei Shōnagon wrote; the illustrations too are old-fashioned but interesting. Since it is a very admirable (work), my first intention was to cut the woodblocks exactly as they were, but there were many worm-eaten and illegible parts, so I turned the design of that time into a modern one leaving the text as it was and just changing the pictures into modern ones.

When turning the pictures into modern ones, there are many differences and it would be hard to avoid scorn [if this were compared with] the calligraphy of Michikaze in *Rōeishu* (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing). However, [I thought that] painting the torii of Tennōji red is a way to turn it into (something) worth seeing, and for this reason probably there is no blame in [doing] this. The common saying ‘pictures are a fabrication’ cannot be avoided. That is so, but the people who will see this will be able to separate the needed from the unneeded and to discern between truth and fiction.<sup>170</sup>

Despite saying here that the aim of this version is to update the illustrations of the Heian text, textual analysis also shows that the text has been transformed. Namely, *Ehon Asahiyama* includes only passages in the style of *mono-zukushi* 物尽 (disconnected lists grouping similar things or ‘mono’). The choice of lists shows only that *Makura no sōshi* at the time was strongly associated with lists. Moreover, we note a drastic abridgement. Among the total 323 *mono-zukushi* passages in *Makura no sōshi*, only 40 have been included and illustrated in *Ehon Asahiyama*. Not only has the number of headings been reduced, but we can see a systematic reduction of the text selected from *Makura no sōshi* (long text sections are reduced to less than a tenth in *Ehon Asahiyama*). The text is not only abridged, but sometimes also slightly transformed from the point of view of the grammar and vocabulary used. The aim of these

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<sup>169</sup> An English translation of the preface is in Ivanova 2011, pp. 125-126.

“Shōnagon, known from the past, was a daughter of Kiyohara no Motosuke. She served Jōtōmon’in and was a lady-in-waiting of unmatched talent and intelligence. When she lived in Sanuki in her later years, she [remembered] the past with great fondness, [and] her thoughts went back to the capital. As a way to pass the time while in the countryside, she selected from the notes she wrote moving words, illustrated them through pictures, and entitled the book *Asahiyama*. I wanted to see this for years and when I recently unexpectedly spotted these three volumes as I was looking at someone’s collection of old tales, I was greatly delighted, but if I looked through them alone, I would not be content, so wishing to show them to others, it was by no means senseless to [apply] to those [original] a [more] contemporary brush. Regardless, the happiness of the bookstore will be great, should the book be transmitted broadly and become the bedroom companion of beautiful women.”

<sup>170</sup> Transcription in *Inumakurashū*, p. 346.

changes may be attributed to an attempt to make the difficult classical source-text easier to read for the Edo period reader, as happened with commentaries.<sup>171</sup>

For instance, section 8 of volume 1 in *Ehon Asahiyama* becomes:

**Things close by, and yet so distant**

The path-of-Nine-Twist of Mt. Kurama.

The relations between siblings and relatives who don't get along.

***Makura no sōshi***

The Miyanobe Festival. The relations between siblings and relatives who don't get along.

The path-of-Nine-Twist of Mt. Kurama.

The first day of the new year, seen from the last day of the old.

In other cases, the selected sections from the source-text are much longer. The compiler prefers sections with short texts that he further reduces, and that could be easily illustrated. All the elements closely connected with the Heian text, and referring to costumes, festivals or the Heian society, are omitted. Certainly, this is because in *Ehon Asahiyama* the stress is put mainly on illustrations (as stated by Sukenobu in the afterword as his intent: “since I wanted to turn the illustrations [of *Makura no sōshi*] into modern ones and show them to children” 今やうの絵にうつして世の児童にも見せてしがな).

A visual examination of the illustrations shows that the captions on top are always thoroughly depicted, following the text meticulously. For instance, the section ‘Moving things’ reads:

**A child dressed in mourning for a parent. A deer's bell.**

A field in autumn. The snow in a mountain village. Dusk when the wind blows among bamboos growing along a river bank. A dilapidated house where the trailing plants grow thickly and climb (on the walls), in a garden covered with mugwort. A moon without clouds shines.

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<sup>171</sup> I.e. vol. one section two: “Kō aru hito no ko” becomes “Hito no ko no kō naru”; vol. two section 7: “Ōki naru ki no kaze ni fukitōsarete, ne wo sasagete yoko tawarefuseru” becomes “Ōki naru ki no kaze ni fukitōsarete yoko tawarefushitaru”; vol. 2 section 13 “Sashigushi migaku hodo ni, mono ni saete oretaru” becomes “Sashigushi migaku hodo ni, mono ni saete oritaru” vol. 2 section 14 “Imijū suru hito no, ko umade toshigoro gushitaru” becomes “Itoshū suru hito no, ko umade toshigoro gushitaru”, etc. Other examples are in Tanaka 1971, pp. 453-5.  
Also, *furigana* is used for all Chinese characters.



Figure 1 “Moving things”, *Ehon Asahi-yama*

In the related illustration, almost all the elements are present: the deer, the field in autumn, the mountain village, the dilapidated house, the shining moon.

Another example is in ‘Dirty things’:

A baby sparrow, a rat’s nest.

An oil container.

A child walking around with a runny nose.

A person who doesn’t wash until long after getting up in the morning.<sup>172</sup>

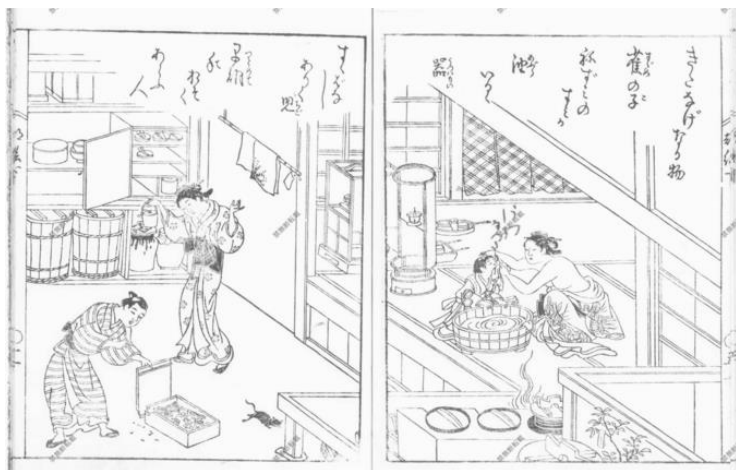


Figure 2 “Dirty things”, *Ehon Asahi-yama*

In this illustration, too, almost all the elements introduced in the text have been turned into pictures: there is the rat, the oil container, the child with a runny nose and a woman whom we can assume has not washed until long after getting up in the morning. The above examples demonstrate that the compiler intentionally selected passages that could be easily illustrated;

<sup>172</sup> Translation in Monta 2004.

when possible, illustrations depict all the items listed in the embedded text at the top of the page.

To sum up, we have seen an abridgement of content and textual length, the updating of the language to the early modern standards, and a new stress on pictures. This would suggest that this text was created to give knowledge to the early-modern popular reader about a text that already had a reputation, but was too difficult to be read without the vernacularisation of the language, and too long to be read without being abbreviated. Consequently, the intended readership was not limited to children, but included men and women. *Ehon Asahiyama* was then probably ‘neutral’ from the gender point of view.<sup>173</sup> It seems also to have experienced a very good reception by readers: after the first edition in 1741, this work was published again in 1772 and in 1860.

## 2. Second substitution: parodies as a further shift to the erotic

As mentioned, *Makura no sōshi* was popular in the realm of rewritings. The first work updating and imitating the style of the source-text, *Inu makura narabi ni kyōka* 犬枕並狂歌 (Mongrel Pillow and Mad Verses, 1607), appears before the publication of the first moveable-type book of *Makura no sōshi* in 1624. Shortly after, *Mottomo no sōshi* 尤之双紙 (The Partial [Pillow] Book) was published in 1632. In 1666, a section called *Yoshiwara inu makura* (Yoshiwara Mongrel Pillow) was inserted in the courtesan critique *Sanchōki toki no taiko* 讃嘲記時之大鼓 (Praise and Scorn of Yoshiwara as a *Taikomochi* of the Time). All these works appeared before *Shunshoshō* and *Ehon Asahiyama*, and even if they did not replace the text, as in the previous examples, they help us understand the intertextual process that stimulated the change in the interpretation of *Makura no sōshi*, from a courtly refined Heian text to an erotic one. This shift is essential for this study, since it created fertile ground for the publication of the *shunpon*.

*Inu makura* is often attributed to Hata Sōha 秦宗巴 (1550-1608), who might have worked alone or as part of an editorial team.<sup>174</sup> There is no colophon, but thanks to the references in other texts, it is possible to say that the first movable-type edition appeared in 1607. *Inu makura* is made up of 73 lists and 19 *kyōka* (comic verses), organized under headings. The only direct connection between the Heian text and this work relates to the style, in the sense that the author uses the textual

<sup>173</sup> Ivanova supposes that this work was intended for women, based on the subject of illustrations (often women), topics related to women and the titles of books to be printed by the same publisher advertised in the first page of the *kōkoku* 広告 (publishers’ advertisements) included in the first edition. I have already discussed the reasons why illustrations were chosen. I add here that in the second page of the same *kōkoku* several different works are listed, all didactic, such as *Honchō jikai setsuyō* 本朝字海節用, *Jikkai sewa jii bokuho* 悉皆世話字彙墨宝, *Sewa jizukushi* 世話字尽, some of them intended solely at men such as *Otoko setsuyōshū ihōshō* 男節用集意宝抄 or *Otoko jii setsuyō ryōshi suzuri* 男字彙節用料紙硯. The presence of both in the same *kōkoku* confirms the possibility of a female and male audience.

<sup>174</sup> A complete translation of this work accompanied by a brief introduction is in Putzar 1968, pp. 98-113.

device of *mono-zukushi*. He does so with some differences, however. First, here too we see an abridgement of the source-text. The lengthy texts present in *Makura no sōshi* are replaced by a snappy succession of lists. Some of the section titles are in common [16], while others have been newly created. Even among those headings already present in *Makura no sōshi*, there are some differences in length. For instance, the section “Noisy things” (*Sawagashiki mono*) in *Makura no sōshi* is as follows:

A sudden shower of sparks. Crows on the rooftop eating the offering portion of a monk’s morning meal.

The crowd that goes to Kiyomizu Temple on the eighteenth day of the month for the retreat.

A few people have gathered at a house as darkness comes on but before the lamps are lit. There’s even more disturbance when the master returns from some distant place such as the provinces.

News arrives that a fire has broken out nearby. In the instance I’m thinking of, however, the fire didn’t take hold.<sup>175</sup>

The same heading in *Inu makura* becomes:

Typhoon, thunder. A nearby fire. A crowd of travelers at an inn.<sup>176</sup>

The second important difference relates to content. *Inu makura* is interested in depicting contemporary and every-day situations, master-retainer relationships, samurai, tea ceremony and *wakashu* 若衆. What is interesting here for the purposes of this study is the introduction of the *shudō* 衆道 (the way of youths), which refers to a sexual relationship between a man and a boy, called *wakashu*.<sup>177</sup> In *Inu makura*, *shudō* and *wakashu* are often related to sexually-charged situations, while sexual references to women are also present. For example, “A woman who falls asleep on you after making love” is quoted among “Disagreeable Things” (嫌なるもの), while “the body of a boy prostitute” is one of the “Splendid but Useless Things”. *Shudō* is not the only erotic element: there are other sections with different allusions. “Stories about it [sex]” (かの物語) are one of the “Things That Promote Conversation”, but “What follows evening stories with a boy favourite” is quoted as “Things One Would Like to Stop”. Several entries are depictions of what follows the sexual act. Things that signal the parting of lovers are cited as “Things Disagreeable to Hear” (“the bell of morning, the song of a bird”). All the same, “A boy favourite who seemed to be about to leave, but stays” [after sex] is one of the “Joyful Things When One Has Been Apprehensive”. Other entries refer to what can potentially lead to a sexual act, as “A wife visiting a temple while her husband is away from home” that

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<sup>175</sup> *The Pillow Book*, translation by Meredith McKinney, pp. 203-204.

<sup>176</sup> See Putzar 1968, p. 110.

<sup>177</sup> *Wakashu* were boys aged from thirteen to nineteen; after the age of nineteen, they underwent a coming-of-age ceremony that conferred them the status of adult men, and from that age they were expected to take the adult role in relations with boys. See Introduction in Schalow 1990.



is quoted among “Apprehensive Things”. Priests are quoted twice, since “Leaving one's boy favourite to a priest's charge” is among “Dangerous Things” and “A priest eying a woman” is part of “Unsightly Things”.<sup>178</sup>

Therefore, from the intertextual point of view, we can consider this text a ‘parody’ of *Makura no sōshi* in the meaning given by Rose of “a device for comic quotation with a change to the original”, where “the controlled discrepancy or incongruity between the parodied text and its new context is also one of the chief sources of the comic effect”.<sup>179</sup> In this case, parody is accomplished thanks to the use of *mono-zukushi*. In this sense, the use of sexual innuendo (but also of more mundane topics) transforms a Heian text into a modern and readable one. This shift is pivotal for the purposes of this study of *Makura no sōshi shunpon* rewritings: for the first time, the source-text is associated with something somehow erotic. Finally, even when using the word erotic, it must be specified that this implies a male perspective: the objects of desire are always *wakashu* and women.<sup>180</sup>

*Mottomo no sōshi* was published for the first time in 1632, in two books and two volumes. There are no extant copies of this first edition, but we know that it was republished only two years later; a reissued version appeared again in 1649 and then an illustrated book was published in 1673 (even if at the present a complete copy cannot be found).<sup>181</sup> The Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books lists 34 copies of this book, which corresponds to half of the number of extant printed copies of *Makura no sōshi*.<sup>182</sup>

The author of *Mottomo no sōshi* is Saitō Tokugen 斎藤徳元 (1559-1647), a *haikai* poet who was active both in Kyoto and Edo. This work also applies the *mono-zukushi* style, which was part of the *Makura no sōshi*. Each volume can be divided into 40 headings in each volume, for a total of 80. The relationship with *Inu makura* and the purpose of the book are clearly stated in the preface:

It was probably during the Keichō era (a period of everlasting happiness), when a book imitating the famous Sei Shōnagon's “Pillow Book” and listing all sort of things was written. This book was called “The Mongrel Pillow”. These two pillows display the six styles of Japanese poetry and they strove to become examples for people in the years to come.<sup>183</sup> Their words have a truthful nature; their quality is masterful, and their meaning is excellent. (Here) I am gathering all sorts of light-

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<sup>178</sup> Translation in Putzar 1968.

<sup>179</sup> Rose 1993, p. 32.

<sup>180</sup> Ivanova has also pointed out that “by representing *wakashu* as objects of desire and reducing women to their functions as mothers and sexual outlets for men, *Inu makura* transforms a woman's literary work to project a fully masculine presence.” Ivanova 2011, p. 90.

<sup>181</sup> Data in SNKBT, *Kanazoshishū*, p. 54.

<sup>182</sup> 31 are printed versions, 3 are manuscripts.

<sup>183</sup> See *Kokinshū* preface. Japanese poetry is referred as to Yamato uta.

hearted things that had been forgotten in the previous book simplifying them, and thus creating this jesting prose. However, to copy now the title of “pillow” is daunting (in front of) the gods. Nevertheless, just with the intention of alluding slightly (to the previous book), I am leaving a part of the character of pillow, renaming this work “The Partial Pillow Book”.<sup>184</sup>

According to this preface, then, *Inu makura* has inspired the compilation of *Mottomo no sōshi*.

### 3.a Rewritings techniques in parodies

Hereafter, I will focus on the rewriting technique and its erotic nature. As previously mentioned, *Mottomo no sōshi* uses the same literary *mono*-type lists already present in *Inu makura*, confirming the impression that this text was being associated by Edo period readers with lists, which were just a fraction of the source-text.

From the point of view of headings, entry titles seem much simpler than those of *Makura no sōshi*, and more like those in *Inu makura*.<sup>185</sup> This is not surprising, since we have seen in the preface that the latter clearly inspired *Mottomo no sōshi*. Nonetheless, there is not much similarity beyond the use of *mono-zukushi*. The text following the entries is longer, and a didactic nature takes the place of the wit detectable in *Inu makura*, which can be seen in the explanations and references to history, geography, social matters, geology and literature, but also in the quotation of waka and earlier famous literary works.<sup>186</sup>

It may be argued here that, embracing the association of *Makura no sōshi* with *mono-zukushi* only, *Mottomo no sōshi* encouraged the reception of the Heian text as a collection of lists. Since this work seems to have been popular (based on the number of printed editions), this explains why this re-conceptualisation of *Makura no sōshi*, starting in *Inu makura*, continued until the 18<sup>th</sup> century (when the *shunpon* appeared). Moreover, it also continued a shared interest in the erotic. While *Inu makura* only alluded to sex, the expressions used in *Mottomo no sōshi* are far more explicit and direct. The terms penis, anus and vagina are used, and some sex scenes are depicted without any refinement. Still, these parts are few: from 31/394 entries in *Inu makura* (roughly a 10<sup>th</sup> of the total), we have only 15 of 1580 (1%). The sexual parts are:

- Short things (4)
  - The lovers’ pillow talks (the nights of a tryst).
- Narrow things (6)

<sup>184</sup> Annotated version in SNKBT, *Kanazoshishū*.

<sup>185</sup> Among the 80 sections, 22 are in common with *Inu makura* and just 11 to *Makura no sōshi*. See Tanaka Hiroshi 1982, pp. 1-21.

For instance, some entries in the first book are: Long things, short things, high things, low things, wide things, narrow things, beautiful things, polluted things, lovely things, annoying things, etc.

<sup>186</sup> For further information, see Tanaka Hiroshi 1983, pp. 17-28.

A young man's anus, and a virgin's vagina.

- Beautiful things (7)

The white colour of a young man's teeth, and the white colour of a woman's body.

- Sad things (12)

To part from somebody late at night is sad.

- Disheveled things (13)

A woman taken by her lord, and her hair disheveled after sleep.

- Precious things (27)

The long hair of beautiful young Buddhist acolytes and forelocks being cut are precious.<sup>187</sup>

- Big things (37)

The horse's thing (a metaphor for somebody's big penis).

- Things that return (40)

A young man who goes back home as he wakes up (after sleeping together).

When one's beloved is staying overnight, one wants to go back home as soon as possible.

Book 2

- Soft things (9)

The heart of an exceptional *wakashu*; the heart of an exceptional woman, and their skin.

Sex between aged people.

- Rare things (19)

Young men's letters every time you look at them. A new sexual relationship.

- Things that get pushed (27)

Women's wombs are usually pushed by men.

- Rough things (30)

The breath of the woman when she is held by her husband.

- Shameful things (33)

That kind of story (i.e. sex) between brothers and sisters, or parents and children.

In these passages, one realizes that the two works have in common references to *wakashu* and women as objects of desire, and that they share a similar male perspective.

*Mottomo no sōshi* was probably so widely read that it may also have influenced, less than twenty years later, the composition of a section inspired by *mono-zukushi* in *Sanchōki toki no taiko* (1667).<sup>188</sup> The author was Fukiageuji Kawazu no Sukeyakata 吹上氏かわずの介安方 and the first extant copy was published by Urokogataya Kabei in 1667, though it may have been a reissue. A possible date for the first publication would be 1664-65.<sup>189</sup> This courtesan

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<sup>187</sup> For their coming-of-age ceremony, *wakashu* used to cut their long forelocks, hence their most salient age marker.

<sup>188</sup> It is also plausible that it stimulated people to re-read *Makura no sōshi*, reprinted the same year of the second edition of *Mottomo no sōshi*.

<sup>189</sup> For more on this text and the following courtesan critiques, see Ono 1965; Yamana in *Edo Yoshiwara sōkan* vol. 1.

critique is analysed here on account of its last section, entitled *Yoshiwara inu makura*. Before this, the author expressly includes an addendum, as follows:

... They say that even the trees growing high in the forest one day will be blown down by the wind. Still, after praising and scorning, a person listed strong and weak points, width and narrowness, the classification of good and bad, of things that people like and dislike in a work. He called it the Mongrel Pillow; I only copied this book and put it here at the end.

It is unclear whether the reference to *Inu makura* here is to the Keichō era one or to a previous *yūjo hyōbanki*.<sup>190</sup> In any case, this part lists 37 headings inspired by *mono-zukushi* exactly in the list-style typical of *Inu makura*.

Among the 37 headings of *Yoshiwara inu makura*, 10 are shared with *Inu makura* and only five with *Makura no sōshi*. Moreover, contrary to *Mottomo no sōshi*, here we do not have text parts, only lists in the *mono*-type style. For instance, the first two sections are:

#### Long things

- Dike of Japan<sup>191</sup>
- **Lovers' wet quarrel** 濡らしの口説
- A night when you get dumped
- *Tsubone*'s tobacco pipes. The fool who looks through the lattice <sup>192</sup>
- The planks of the veranda of Iseya
- The smiling face of Matsugae (tayū)
- Tokioka's heart
- The mediation the night of the first meeting
- The summons of a courtesan during the New year celebration
- The grudge of a client deceived by a courtesan
- **Minato's clitoris** みなとかさね

#### Short things

- The night when you meet somebody enthusiastically
- The first letter sent [to a lover]
- Yoshita's nature
- Oribe's hair
- Takayo's chin
- The fingers of the shamisen player Tahei
- The honour of a buyer who has done a *kaizume*<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> According to Ono, during the Meireki era (1655-58), some *yūjo hyōbanki* published in Kyoto about the pleasure quarter of Shimabara started to add a section called '*Inu makura*', referring to the parody of *Makura no sōshi*. Any of these works was identified among extant critiques. See Ono 1965.

<sup>191</sup> The New Yoshiwara, which was relocated after the Meireki fire, was near the Nihon Zutsumi (Dike of Japan) in Asakusa.

<sup>192</sup> In the prostitutes' hierarchy until the early eighteenth century, the rank between *kōshi* and *hashi*. See Segawa 1993, glossary.

<sup>193</sup> To monopolise some *geiko* and courtesans for several days.

As may be seen from the above passage, the structure of *Yoshiwara inu makura* is closer to *Inu makura* than to *Makura no sōshi*. Further evidence is found in the larger number of headings shared with *Inu makura*.<sup>194</sup>

Sanchōki	Yoshiwara sode kagami	Yoshiwara yobukodori	Y. kaimono shirabe	Y. ōkagami
Long things	Long things	<i>Delightful things</i>	The white	Long things
Short things	Short things	<i>Sad things</i>	The red	Short things
Things one would like to hear	High things	<u>Unusual things</u>	The pleasant	Things one would like to see
<i>Things one would like to see</i>	Low things	Things that go down	The quiet	Things one would like to hear
<u>Despicable things</u>	Things that are abundant	Things that are abundant		Amusing things
Cute things	Things that are scarce	Things that are scarce		<i>Interesting things</i>
<u>Consoling things</u>	Wide things	Bad things that look good		Things that make one lose his temper
<u>Disconsolate things</u>	Narrow things	Good things that look bad		Kimino yoki mono
Shallow things	Deep things	<i>Things that don't succeed</i>		<i>Quiet things</i>
Deep things	Swallow things	<i>Things that succeed</i>		Scrupulous things
Noisy things	Beautiful things	Things that are complete		Unscrupulous things
<i>Quiet things</i>	<i>Cruel things</i>	Things incomplete		Pitiful things
Unscrupulous things	<i>Delightful things</i>			<i>Pleasant things</i>
Scrupulous things	<i>Disagreeable things</i>			<i>Disagreeable things</i>
Narrow things	Cute things			Dirty things
Wide things	Detestable things			<i>Shoushi naru mono</i>
Things that make one lose his temper				<i>Unightly things</i>
Pleasant things				Loud things
Elegant things				<i>Cruel things</i>
Amusing things				<u>Despicable Things</u>
<i>Interesting things</i>				<u>Consoling things</u>
<i>Sad things</i>				Complainable things
<u>Fearsome things</u>				Low-rank things
<i>Unightly things</i>				Things to which one look forward
<u>Things past for which one longs</u>				Things that look true
Low-rank things				Things that look fake
Things that turn				
Shaking things				
Mutable things				
Beautiful things				
Things that look sleepy				
Loud things				
Strong things				
Thick things				
Big things				
High things				
Low things				

Table 1 *Inu makura* in *yūjo hyōbanki*

Four later works are closely associated with *Yoshiwara Inu makura*: *Yoshiwara sode kagami* (Guide to Yoshiwara, 1667 ca), *Yoshiwara Yobukodori* 吉原よぶこ鳥 (Yoshiwara Calling Birds, 1668), *Yoshiwara kaimono shirabe* 吉原買もの調 (Yoshiwara Purchase Examination, 1682), and *Yoshiwara ōkagami* 吉原大鑑 (The Great Mirror of Yoshiwara, 1834). All these *yūjo hyōbanki* use the device of *mono-zukushi*. The structure of all these works is the same, and the language is also similar.

<sup>194</sup> These are: *mitaki mono*, *nikuki mono*, *tanomosiki mono*, *tanomoshigenaki mono*, *shizukanaru mono*, *sabishiki mono*, *osoroshiki mono*.

As shown in Table 1, the selection of headings for these *mono*-type new lists in later works is based more on those of *Inu makura* (or *Sanchōki toki no taiko*), rather than those of *Makura no sōshi*. This is important because it confirms the impression that *Inu makura* was a stepping stone in the change of perception of the source-text, which was from then on considered a succession of lists and related to sex. The *mono-zukushi* structure was promptly adapted in this way because it was a useful device to convey knowledge about the pleasure-quarters.<sup>195</sup> The link with the previous, erotically-charged *Inu makura* is probably to be found in the topics related to sex (as courtesan critiques), even if the contents were not completely sex-related. Consequently, both *Inu makura* and later courtesan critique played an essential role in: a) extrapolating the *mono-zukushi* as a sequence of lists, cutting the lengthy text parts in the Heian text; b) through the introduction of sexual allusions, marking the shift from a classical, knowledgeable text written by a woman writer, to an erotic one. This allows us to suppose that these rewritings constituted fertile ground for the creation of *shunpon* that push the ‘erotic reinterpretation’ into the sexually explicit.

### 3. *Shunpon* rewritings of *Makura no sōshi*: a comparison

Courtesan critiques were not the only works that led *Makura no sōshi* to be acknowledged as an erotic text containing mostly *mono-zukushi*.<sup>196</sup> In *Ehon Asahiyama* (1741), erotically charged content associated with pictures is essential to understanding how this text inspired the production of the *shunpon*. In this work, the correlation between the total number of headings and the number of headings containing references to sex, increases considerably. Among the total 40 sections selected, 6 contain parts already erotic (15%). In ‘Things now useless that recall a glorious past’ we find ‘A man who was a great lover in his day but is now old and decrepit.’ In ‘situations you have a feeling will turn out badly’ there is ‘a son-in-law who has a fickle nature and tends to neglect his wife’; in ‘Things distant, and yet so close’ there is ‘the relations between a man and a woman’. In ‘laughable things’ it is listed ‘your lover, utterly drunk, doing the same thing again and again’; in ‘painful things’ there is ‘a man who has two lovers, and is seared by resentment, first of one and then of the other’; ‘Hateful things’ ‘a dog who barks upon seeing a secret visitor.’ This proportion may also have changed the perception

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<sup>195</sup> Ivanova suggests that ‘*Makura no sōshi* offered a useful source for producing subversive guides to the art of pleasure-seeking, since lists enabled the classification of manners and attitudes (through the *mono*-type lists) and the remapping or creation of a Japan of its own (through the *wa*-type lists).’ Ivanova 2011, pp. 91-92.

This may be a possible reason for this shift; indeed, we must bear in mind that in the case of *of yūjo hyōbanki*, the *mono*-type lists come from *Inu makura* rather than from *Makura no sōshi*.

<sup>196</sup> After 1685, *Inu Makura* was listed in the category *kōshoku narabi rakuji*, together with other *makura-e*, *kōshoku* related works and works related to pleasure quarters. See Moretti 2011, p. 238.

of *Ehon Asahiyama* into a text in some way erotic. Despite this, the illustrations never cross the line, and display no penchant for the erotic.

Around 1773, *Ehon Haru no akebono* (from now on *Haru no akebono*) was published in Edo. The illustrator is Kitao Shigemasa, and the author is Komatsuya Hyakki 小松屋百亀 (1720-1794). It is a three-volume *hanshibon* inspired by *Ehon Asahiyama*. In this *shunpon*, a long text is inserted at the end of every volume, for a total of two stories. *Haru no akebono* follows the structure of *Asahiyama*, in several ways. First, in the editorial aspect, the book is divided into three volumes, where each volume has ten illustrations, with a caption inserted on top, as in *Ehon Asahiyama*. Second, the order of the contents is also the same; similarly, the preface in volume one also follows the preface in *Ehon Asahiyama*. Komatsuya Hyakki was, notably, a collector of Sukenobu's woodblock books and *shunga*, so it is plausible to argue that he was inspired to create *Haru no Akebono* after the reprint of *Ehon Asahiyama* the year before (1772).<sup>197</sup>

Approximately seven years after this work, in 1780, a similar *shunpon* appeared, entitled *Ukiyo no itoguchi*. The book format is the same as *Haru no akebono* and *Ehon Asahiyama*. *Ukiyo no itoguchi* is also a three-book *hanshibon*. Like *Haru no akebono*, a lengthy text part (not in *Ehon Asahiyama*) is attached at the end of each volume. This *shunpon* was reissued with a new title in 1795 as *Makura no sōshi shunshōshō* 股庫想志春情抄 (The Commentary Warehouse of Thighs in the Spring Affection). This title, like the title of *Haru no akebono*, refers to the commentary *Shunshoshō* and not to *Makura no sōshi* (confirming the impression that *Shunshoshō* had replaced the source-text during the Edo period).<sup>198</sup>

These works, though, are not rewritings of *Makura no sōshi*. The actual source of both is *Ehon Asahiyama* (in the selection of headings, format, and text). It is possible to state this intertextual relation based on a close comparison of the text involved in the discussion. Both *shunpon* use the section “Things delightful to see” 見て心知よき物, which was introduced in *Ehon Asahiyama* but cannot be found in *Makura no sōshi*. *Ukiyo no itoguchi* rewrites *Ehon Asahiyama* and not *Haru no akebono*, because four headings shared between *Ukiyo no itoguchi* and *Ehon Asahiyama* do not appear in *Haru no akebono* (see Table 2).

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<sup>197</sup> Hayakawa 2004, preface.

<sup>198</sup> *Ukiyo no itoguchi* is only partially preserved at the Urakami Mitsuru collection in Tokyo. A complete transcription can be found in Hayashi 2014, vol. 3, but I could not locate any complete extant copy. For this study, I use the copy of the reissued version *Makura sōshi shunshōshō*, available in the Nichibunken online database, which seems to have the same contents as the transcription in Hayashi 2014.

<b>Ehon Asahiyaama</b>	<b>Haru no akebono</b>	<b>Ukiyo itoguchi</b>
<b>Book 1</b>	<b>Book 1</b>	<b>Book 1</b>
Things that sound different than usual	Things that sound different than usual	Captivating things
Moving things		Splendid things
Things that are better the bigger they are	Things that are better the bigger they are	
Things that should be short	Things that should be short	Things that should be short
Things that relieve occasions when time drags by		<b>Regrettable things</b>
Things now useless that recall a glorious past		Things that are delightful to see
Situations you have a feeling will turn out badly		Objects of ridicule
Things close by, and yet so distant	<u>Things close by, and yet so distant</u>	Things that excited curiosity in the past
Things distant, and yet so close	Things distant, and yet so close	
Things that stir anxiety	<u>Things that stir anxiety</u>	
Absolutely terrifying things	Absolutely terrifying things	
Objects of ridicule	Objects of ridicule	
Things past for which one longs	Things past for which one longs	
<b>Things that imitate</b>		
Things that are delightful to see	Things that are delightful to see	
<b>Book 2</b>	<b>Book 2</b>	
Splendid things		<b>Book 2</b>
Things that make the heart beat faster	Things that make the heart beat faster	Things past for which one longs
Ugly things	<u>Ugly things</u>	<b>People who feel smug</b>
Things that are hard to say	<u>Things that are hard to say</u>	Disgusting things
Worthless things	Worthless things	Things that are better the bigger they are
Disquieting things	Disquieting things	Hateful things
<b>Awkward and pointless things</b>		<b>Things that imitate</b>
Captivating things	Captivating things	Absolutely terrifying things
Laughable things	Laughable things	Painful things
<b>People who feel smug</b>		Disquieting things
Miserable looking things		
Joyful things	<u>Joyful things</u>	
Startling and disconcerting things		
<b>Regrettable things</b>		
Painful things	Painful things	
Satisfying things	<u>Satisfying things</u>	
<b>Book 3</b>	<b>Book 3</b>	
Things whose outcome you long to know		<b>Book 3</b>
Unusual things	Unusual things	Things whose outcome you long to know
Hateful things	Hateful things	Laughable things
Noisy things	Noisy things	Things that make the heart beat faster
Things that just keep passing by	Things whose outcome you long to know	<b>Awkward and pointless things</b>
Dirty things	<u>Dirty things</u>	Worthless things
Disillusioning things	<u>Disillusioning things</u>	Unusual things
Disgusting things	Disgusting things	Noisy things
Things that can't be compared	<u>Things that can't be compared</u>	Things distant, and yet so close
	Splendid things	Things that sound different than usual

**Table 2 Headings list of *Ehon Asahiyaama*, *Haru no akebono* and *Ukiyo no itoguchi***

Table 2 lists all the headings present in the three works. The parts from *Ehon Asahiyaama* only in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* are in bold. The parts that are in *Haru no akebono* but not in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* are underlined. While in *Haru no akebono* there are already ten headings less than in *Ehon Asahiyaama* (30 in total), *Ukiyo no itoguchi* has even fewer headings, 26 in total (7 in the first book, 9 in the second and third). Moreover, *Ehon haru no akebono* follows strictly the order of *Ehon Asahiyaama*, while there is no special order to the headings of *Ukiyo no itoguchi*; or at least this order does not follow that of the previous texts.

In the second section, we have seen the preface of *Ehon Asahiyaama*, which presents the text as an updated version of *Makura no sōshi*.



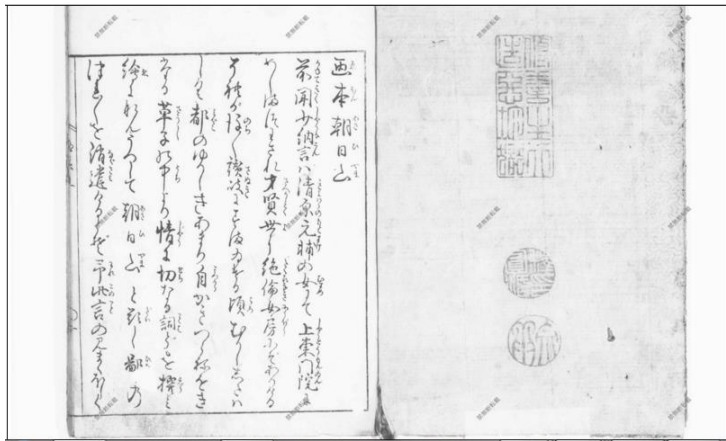


Figure 3 *Ehon Asahiyama* Preface

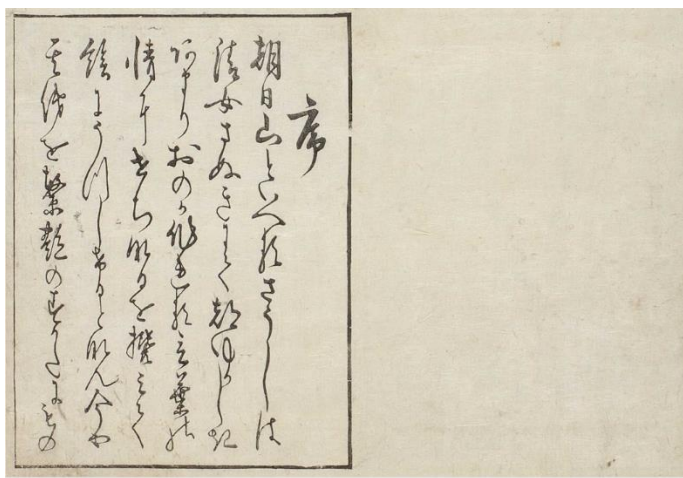


Figure 4 *Ehon Haru no akebono* Preface

The preface of *Haru no akebono* reads:

Sei Shōnagon was exiled in Sanuki and thinking with longing of life in the capital, selected the best moving verses from her work and copied them together with illustrations. This, supposedly, is the origin of the work called *Asahiyama*. Today, remaking this work to give it more modern sex appeal, we present it to the world with the title Spring Dawn. We hope that it will bring consolation to ladies in their bedchambers. There would be no greater bliss for literature. [Published] One Glorious Spring<sup>199</sup>

The preface of *Ehon Asahiyama* explains the origin of the work as produced by the author of *Makura no sōshi*, Sei Shōnagon. This shorter preface follows the version about the creation of the illustrated version given in *Ehon Asahiyama*, and also mentions beautiful women. The only subtle reference to lovemaking is the phrase ‘remaking this work to give it more modern sex appeal’.

<sup>199</sup> Translation in Hayakawa 2004.

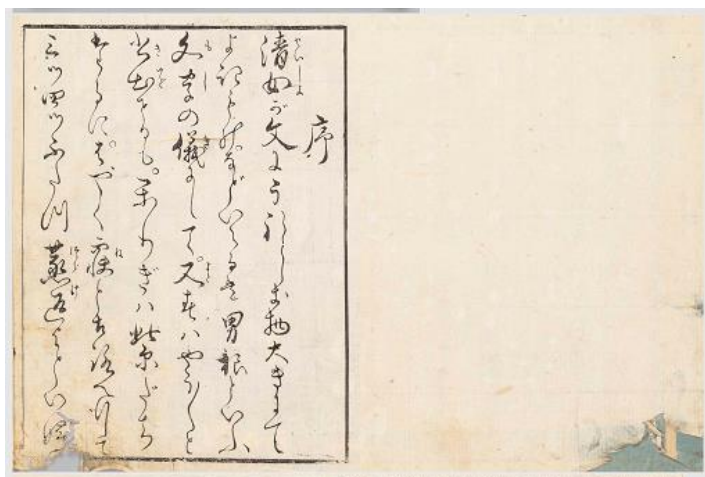


Figure 5 *Makura sōshi shunshōshō (Ukiyo no itoguchi)* Preface

*Ukiyo itoguchi* starts with a preface that seems closer in content and format to that of *Asahiyama*, rather than that of *Haru no akebono*. It also starts with a reference to Sei Shōnagon, but turns quickly to sexually explicit references. Overall, it sounds more humorous and playful.

In the text written by the woman called Sei, there were parts titled joyful things or things that are better the bigger they are. Making them in a penis style, I also wrote many sex acts, so “when the goose rim is tinged purple” [(the edge of the glans is tinged purple) are secret words for “Let’s go to bed soon and have sex 2, 3 or 4 times!”] Now I turned that appearance into a few pictures with notes, and with the intention of provoking a good laugh, and the matchmaking between things distant, and yet so close.<sup>200</sup>

This preface starts by referring to *Makura no sōshi* through mentioning the author Sei, but apart from that we cannot see any quotation from or allusion to the previous works, including *Ehon Asahiyama*. The only reference to *mono-zukushi* (joyful things, things that are better the bigger they are, things distant, and yet so close) is used as a connection to sexual topics. If in *Haru no akebono* we only had a feeble innuendo to “modern sex appeal” and to “ladies in their bedchamber”, in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* we can see a clear progression from this sexual allusion to more sexual explicitness, in the choice of words such as “penis style”, “the edge of glans” and “let’s have sex”. The playful impression is confirmed by the purpose expressed here, which is to provoke laughter (好開の笑をもとめ), and the possible intended readership seems to be both men and women, since the author says he wants to bring them closer (遠くて近き中の媒ともなれかし).

<sup>200</sup> Men and women. In *Makura no sōshi*, in the section Things that are far yet near, there is “Relations between men and women”.

This shift from alluding (in *Haru no akebono*) to the more sexually explicit (in *Ukiyo no itoguchi*) is further reinforced by the difference seen in the *kuchi-e* of the two *shunpon*. The illustration following the preface in *Haru no akebono* depicts a scene in the classical style of bird-and-flower paintings, associating it to a *waka* about love in *Shingoshūishū*.



Figure 6 *Ehon haru no akebono Kuchi-e*

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the preface is followed by the picture of a young woman raising the outer blind high: a clear allusion to section 278 in *Makura no sōshi*. This is one of the most famous episodes of *Makura no sōshi*, in which Sei Shōnagon raises the blind to show that she has guessed Empress Teishi's allusion to one of Bo Juyi's poems, and must have been familiar to readers of the period.<sup>201</sup> Despite not being overtly explicit, in this picture too we see a slight transition to the erotic, since birds and flowers are substituted by a young woman in *furisode*, looking as if waiting for her lover to come at night for a tryst.

<sup>201</sup> As pointed out by Nakajima, this episode was also inserted in *Jikkinshō* 十訓抄 (1259), *Etsumokushō* 悦目抄 (1317-1319), *Waka kimyōdan* 和歌奇妙談 (1699), *Waka kitoku monogatari* 和歌奇徳物語 (1699), *Dai Nihonshi* 大日本史 (1809), and *Hyakunin isshu hitoyo gatar* 百人一首一夕語 (1833). Nakajima Wakako 1991, p. 13. Ivanova also analysed this episode in "Prodigious words from Sei Shōnagon's Pillow Book" Sei Shōnagon no kisai; dō *Makura no sōshi no kigo*. See Ivanova 2011, pp. 147-151.



Figure 7 *Makura no sōshi shunshōshō (Ukiyo no itoguchi)* Kuchi-e

#### 4.a ILLUSTRATED SECTIONS

In what follows, I will analyse some sections from the two *shunpon*, comparing them with the same sections in *Ehon Asahiyama*. The main aim of this comparison is to see how *Haru no akebono* and *Ukiyo no itoguchi* are transformed from the same source-text, and to show whether the juxtaposition of text and pictures can have a humorous effect. If that is so, then why, and what is different in the case of the sexually explicit interpretations? I will divide the analysis into two parts: first, the illustrated part, with captions and dialogues (only in *shunpon*) inserted within the illustrations. Second, I will move to the text-only section.

The first example is the section ‘Captivating things’ (なまめかしき物), which in *Ehon Asahiyama*, reads:

Slim and clean-favoured princes in casual attire.

A young court lady practicing her calligraphy as the edges of the pretty summer curtains waft over the hem of her robes.<sup>202</sup>

The illustration depicts all the elements present in the text on the top. This portrayal was quite common in the classical scenes of *kaimami* in early-modern works, and is not visually reworked in the two *shunpon*.

<sup>202</sup> Translation in Hayakawa 2004.



Figure 8 “Captivating things”, *Ehon Asahiyama*

In this section in *Haru no akebono*, the text on top reads:

A young girl’s dress and hairstyle on a young woman of sixteen.

A woman sporting the fan upon which she has had her favoured kabuki actor inscribe a verse.

There is a seductive little reminder in the paper pillow cover that clings to the hair of a woman as she rises from bed.

The illustration depicts the lovemaking of a young couple that must be a wealthy home’s daughter and servant on the veranda.



Figure 9 “Captivating things” *Haru no akebono*

A dialogue is inserted in *Haru no akebono*, which reads:

Girl: Come on- I said I want to talk to you. If you keep being so stubborn, I’ll tell my father on you.

Boy: Well, but still, you know, I...<sup>203</sup>

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the caption sounds very similar to *Ehon Asahiyama*.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.



<i>Ehon Asahiyama</i>	<i>Ukiyo itoguchi</i>
Slim and clean-favoured <u>princes in casual</u> attire. A young court lady practicing her calligraphy <u>as the edges of the pretty summer</u> <u>curtains waft over the hem of her robes.</u> <sup>204</sup>	Slim and clean-favored <u>men in haori</u> attire. A young lady practicing her calligraphy <u>in a</u> <u>clean zashiki.</u> <sup>205</sup>

In the illustration, a man in a wealthy house has just snatched the fan on which a young lady has been practicing calligraphy. The inscription on the fan is: “Looking for a husband: today, when spring starts, is common”. The dialogue that follows says:

Girl: Jeez, that’s badly written. Give it back to me!

Man: I will take this, it’s splendid. Oh, your lover must be very happy when you write to him in such a beautiful calligraphy!

Girl: Oh, don’t look at that. Are you kidding me again?



Figure 10 “Captivating things” *Makura no sōshi shunshōshō*

After this first example, one understands that there is no visual parody of the picture of *Ehon Asahiyama* in the *shunpon*. In the source-text, the use of the captions is also different compared to the sexually explicit works. In *Haru no akebono* the text is new while in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* it is almost the same as that in the source-text. We can see that not only pictures, but also dialogues are created anew in both *shunpon*.

Another example can be seen in the section ‘Splendid things’ *Medetaki mono* 美良もの. The caption on top in *Ehon Asahiyama* is very short, and reads:

Chinese brocade. Ornamental swords.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Unless otherwise specified, all the translations of *Ukiyo no itoguchi* are mine.

In the illustration, three women are sewing, probably the Chinese brocade, and an ornamental sword adorns the tokonoma on the back.



Figure 11 “Splendid things” *Ehon Asahiyama*

In *Haru no akebono* the text inscription again is completely new, reading:

A harmonious couple. A man who can keep doing it without ever exhausting himself. Erotic tales stirring laughter, what joy!<sup>206</sup>

The illustration depicts a couple having sex close to the veranda. The dialogue gives more context.



Figure 12 “Splendid things” *Haru no akebono*

Husband: “Suddenly mounting the peaks of desire, let us set out to an afternoon feast of sex!”  
says my dick.

<sup>206</sup> Hayakawa 2004.

Wife: Hey, what's the rush? Let me turn around.

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the caption is exactly as in *Ehon Asahiyama*. The picture, of a couple dressed in ancient Chinese attire, depicts the Tang Emperor Xuanzong (J. Gensō 玄宗) and his concubine Yang Guifei (J. Yōkihi 楊貴妃). The identity of the couple illustrated is clear thanks to a short quotation from *Chōgonka* 長恨歌 (The Song of Everlasting Sorrow) that follows. What is different from the original is not only the depiction of the scene, but how the author plays with the allusion to China, substituting the Chinese brocade with the country of origin of the couple depicted, which is famous for the tragic end of their love, although in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* the couple is depicted enjoying sex. The emperor is exclaiming: "How lubricated!" (生垂).



Figure 13 “Splendid things”, *Ukiyo no itoguchi*

Again, we find no trace of visual parody in the *shunpon*, since the illustrations differ from *Ehon Asahiyama*. The source-text has been rewritten in *Haru no akebono*, while the same caption is inserted in *Ukiyo no itoguchi*. The playful dialogues are new in both.

In the section “Hateful Things” (憎きもの) in *Ehon Asahiyama*, the caption reads:

A hair which drops into the ink stone while you are grinding ink. Or again, a pebble embedded in the inkstick which scratches so gratingly.

A visitor with a never-ending story who comes just when you have urgent business.

A dog who barks upon seeing a secret visitor – you want to beat it to death.<sup>207</sup>

The illustration depicts everything, from the unexpected visitor stopping somebody in a hurry with a long talk, to the barking dog and two women grinding ink.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.



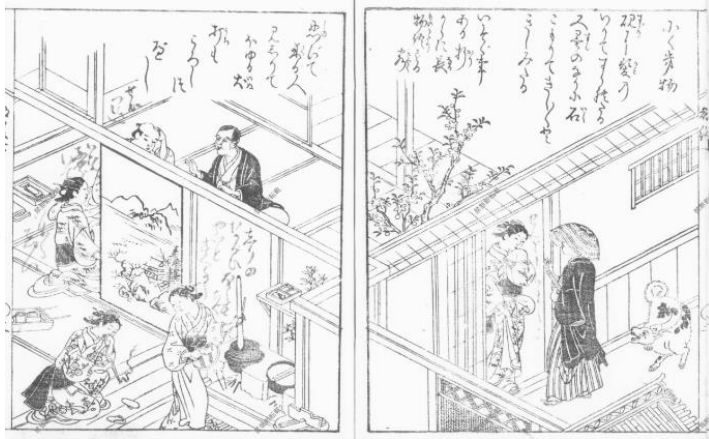


Figure 14 “Hateful things” *Ehon Asahiyama*

In both *shunpon*, the focus seems to be on the barking dog only, probably because it was easier to connect it to a sexually explicit picture. In *Haru no akebono*, though, the caption is also modified:

Having slipped away to a secluded place, you are in the midst of going at it, when a dog starts barking furiously in reproach.

The dialogue reads:

Man: You stupid mongrel! Just wait ‘til you’re fucking some bitch. I’ll drench you with water!

Woman: Forget about it. His barking makes me feel even more juiced up.



Figure 15 “Hateful things” *Haru no akebono*

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the text is again the same as in *Ehon Asahiyama*, but shorter.<sup>208</sup> The illustration and dialogue are new, and make the whole situation quite humorous.

Dog: You come each and every night. What bad-natured guys! I want to make it too, bow-wow, bow-wow! I will bite you when you come!

<sup>208</sup> The text is only: A dog who barks upon seeing a secret visitor – you want to beat it to death.

Woman: Since my mother suspects something, we must be careful, and it's hard. Oh, like that, like that, I'm coming.

Man: If they discover us, I will run away with you.



Figure 16 “Hateful Things” *Makura sōshi shunshōshō (Ukiyo no itoguchi)*

As we saw in the first two examples, in both *shunpon* the illustrations and dialogues are new, while in *Haru no akebono* the caption is also modified, and in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* the text is not changed.

An example in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* of the use of unchanged text from *Ehon Asahiyama*, but with new illustrations and playful dialogues, is in “Things distant, and yet so close”. In *Ehon Asahiyama*, the text reads:

A voyage by boat.

The relations between a man and a woman.

The illustration, following this text, depicts people travelling on a boat.

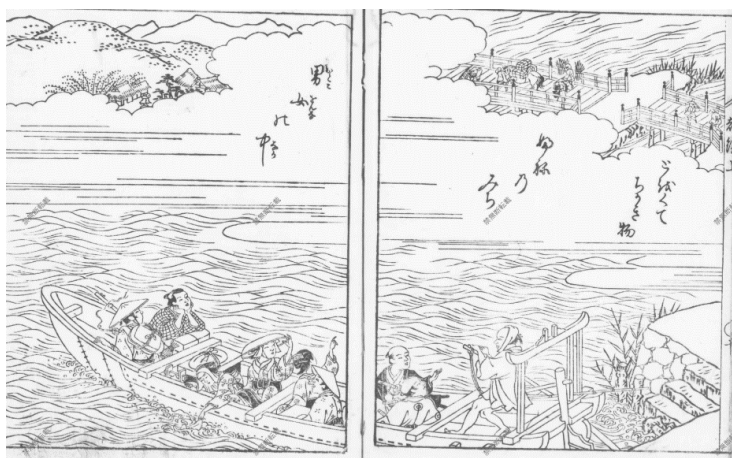


Figure 17 “Things distant, and yet so close” *Ehon Asahiyama*

In *Haru no akebono*, “Things distant and yet so close” are:

The wiles of a high-class courtesan.  
 From Aoyama to the pleasure quarter of Yoshiwara.  
 The conversation of a married couple.<sup>209</sup>



Figure 18 “Things distant, and yet so close” *Haru no akebono*

The illustration depicts a customer trying to seduce the *shinzō* (attendant) of a high-class courtesan when she is busy with other clients (an act absolutely forbidden in Yoshiwara etiquette). The courtesan is looking at them from the corridor.

Courtesan’s servant: The courtesan will be coming now. Stop fooling around!

Client: Oh, she’s not coming. She’s with a rich moneybag over there.

Courtesan: How disgraceful! He’s trying to seduce my substitute, when he knows perfectly well that’s just not done.

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the caption is still the same, and, at first sight, the illustration looks similar to *Ehon Asahiyama*, depicting three people on a boat.



Figure 19 “Things distant and yet so close”, *Makura sōshi shunshōshō* (*Ukiyo no itoguchi*)

<sup>209</sup> Hayakawa 2004.

At a closer look, the observer realises that the young man is secretly touching the girl while talking with the mother. The dialogue reads:

Mother: What a beautiful landscape!

Son: That's true; it's such a luxuriant landscape!

Girl: Waiting for a finger is better than the pine of trysts!<sup>210</sup>

As we have seen, the only section new in *Ehon Asahiyama* and the two *shunpon* is “Things that are delightful to see”.<sup>211</sup> In *Ehon Asahiyama*, the illustration depicts a musical performance during a festival, and the inscribed text reads:

A masterful performance by someone one knows. Musical performances at festivals. Trees planted in one's garden bearing fruit – what a pleasure to behold!<sup>212</sup>



Figure 20 “Things that are delightful to see” *Ehon asahiyama*

In *Haru no akebono*, the text is completely new:

A man with bold, flaring nostrils. An impressive erect phallus. Lovers kissing in a tight embrace – what a pleasure to behold! <sup>213</sup>

In the picture, there is again a couple having sex on the veranda.

Woman: Up to your old tricks again. Stop it! You know it's an inauspicious day.

Man: It's as the old song goes: for vows of abstinence, there's no bad day or month to start.

<sup>210</sup> A pine tree on the west bank of Sumidagawa that was called the pine of trysts because many couples in *yanebune* used to meet there. Here the pun is between *shubi no matsu* 首尾の松 and *yubi no matsu* 指の待つ.

<sup>211</sup> See p. 16.

<sup>212</sup> Hayakawa 2004.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.





Figure 21 “Things that are delightful to see” *Haru no akebono*

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, instead, we have two illustrations for this heading. In the first, the inscription on top says:

Things that are delightful to see

The newly published pillow books that appear in early spring. Or fantasies.

In the picture, a man is masturbating while reading some *yūjo hyōbanki*.



Figure 22 “Things that are delightful to see” *Makura sōshi shunshōshō (Ukiyo no itoguchi)*

In the following illustration, the same man is having sex with a courtesan, while a client is sleeping behind the folding screen. The dialogue is:

Man: Today, I finally managed to come. Who’s your client?

Courtesan: My client today is Mr Uneki. He is fast asleep.

Client: Ahm, zzz.

This must have been the fantasy that triggered the man’s desire in the previous scene.



Figure 23 “Things that are delightful to see” *Makura sōshi shunshōshō*

From the point of view of the illustrations, the three works are again very different, but in this case, *Ukiyo no itoguchi* does not use the same text as in *Asahiyama*.<sup>214</sup>

The section “Things that imitate” (見習ひする物) can be found only in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* and *Ehon Asahiyama*.

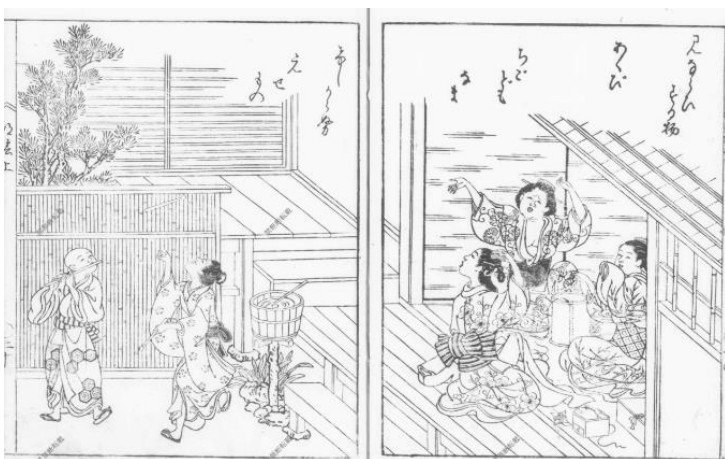


Figure 24 “Things that imitate” *Ehon Asahiyama*

In both, the caption says:

Yawns. Children. Poor people, who have a vulgar side to their nature.<sup>215</sup>

In *Ehon Asahiyama*, the picture illustrates the elements indicated: children playing and a woman yawning. In the *shunpon* illustration, we see a couple having sex, when their child suddenly appears.

<sup>214</sup> There are other small changes of *Makura no sōshi* (9 in total) in the caption on top of *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, but this is the only case where the whole text is new. In the other cases, a sexual-related line is added to the contents from the source-text.

<sup>215</sup> Ivan Morris translation.



Figure 25 “Things that imitate” *Makura sōshi shunshōshō*

The dialogue that follows says:

Kid: Dad, mom! Oh my! You did it also yesterday. And now you’re doing it again! Oh my, oh my!

Mom: Boy, don’t do this. Go and play in the other room!

Dad: We are pretty naked. After lunch let’s go outside finally!

The section ‘Things that excited curiosity in the past’ (昔床しき物), is present only in *Ukiyo no itoguchi*.

Here, the short inscription is, as in *Makura no sōshi*:

A golden folding screen where the surface is wrecked. Books of old tales.



Figure 26 Things that excited curiosity in the past, *Makura sōshi shunshōshō*

The illustration depicts a couple with a hairstyle typical of medieval times, and the dialogue makes their identity clear:

Tora: Jūrō, please let’s continue more.



Jūrō: We did it five times last night, and five times today, so that makes ten times in total. I'm really tired from last night. Look, I'm sick of this already.

This is a very irreverential way to depict the famous couple of *Soga monogatari*, Soga Jūrō and Tora Gozen. As in Yōkihi's case, here the author's intention seems to be to provoke laughter by parodying famous couples of the past. Tora and Jūrō, like Yōkihi and emperor Gensō, are also a couple famous for the tragic end to their love, but in this illustration, they are depicted enjoying sex. In addition, Jūrō speaks as though tired of all this sexual activity, changing the tone completely from the tragic to the daily life of every couple, and creating a gap that sounds humorous.

*Ukiyo no itoguchi* seems to be more concerned with sexual matters than *Haru no akebono* in the preface and *kuchi-e*. The same happens for the last half-folio picture in each book of *Ukiyo no itoguchi*. Before the beginning of the text-only pages, the illustrator inserts a close-up picture of male and female genitalia, disguised in the first case as “flash of lightning vagina” (*inazuma no mono* 稲妻之開) and “thunder penis” (*kaminari no mono* 雷), in the second case as “female demon vagina” (*kijo no mono* 鬼女之開) and “demon penis” (鬼) and in the third case as “mountain witch vagina” (*yamauba no mono* 山姥之開) and “tengu penis” (天狗). These close-ups of genitalia were quite common in *shunpon* (the most famous example is in the sex manual *Makura bunko* 枕文庫 [1822]). What is peculiar in this case is the new characterisation of penis and vagina with elements such as thunder or demons. This must have been so unusual, even in *shunpon*, that Hayashi evaluates this as unique, citing it as “one of the reasons why Shunshō was so popular as an author of *shunpon*”.<sup>216</sup> This unexpected close-up and its incongruity also increase the level of humour.



Figure 27 Last illustration *Makura sōshi shunshōshō*

<sup>216</sup> Entry about *Ukiyo no itoguchi* in *Edo Enpon Daijiten*, p. 71.



#### 4.b FUNCTION OF DIALOGUES IN PICTURES

The above analysis has shown how the idea of creating a *shunpon* version of the same text may be developed in two different ways. In the part dedicated to pictures in *Haru no akebono*, not only illustrations and dialogues, but also all captions are new, keeping the *monozukushi* structure and the titles of sections only. On the other hand, in *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, the same captions are used without any substantial change from *Ehon Asahiyama*. It is interesting to see that the preface is less sexually charged in *Haru no akebono* but the lists are more explicit, whereas the preface is more outspoken in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* but the lists not very sexually explicit.

Despite the close relationship with *Ehon Asahiyama*, however, in the *shunpon* illustrations and dialogues are all new. They are both humorous, to a different degree. The humorous effect in *Haru no akebono* is achieved thanks to the modification of the captions themselves. Where readers would expect quotations in the spirit of *Makura no sōshi*, or something alluding to it, the author makes references to everyday life, to modern times (kabuki, servants in a wealthy house, etc.) and, of course, to sex. Here, then, the dialogue strengthens the humorous effect already created thanks to the captions. In *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, though, these parts are maintained unchanged, obtaining another result. Kitao Shigemasa often plays on the juxtaposition of traditional themes, sexually explicit pictures and playful dialogues. The caption on top from *Makura no sōshi* and the illustration of people having sex is so unexpected as to provoke laughter, complying with the classical incongruity humour theory. This image-text combination can be interpreted as contradictory (classical quotation versus lovemaking, high and low level). It acts as a counterpoint both in style (pictures are ironic while the text is serious, but also pictures popular while the text is authoritative) and in modality (text as a succession of lists, pictures ‘narrative’).

The role of the dialogue is to complement the picture, and much of the humour would be gone if dialogues were withdrawn. Indeed, the complete narrative is dependent on both picture and text to produce the desired effect. Dialogue suddenly breaks the erotic and refined atmosphere, bringing everything to everyday life and to sex. This again means a betrayal of the reader’s expectations, but in this case the dissimilarity is even bigger than in *Haru no akebono*, which provides new texts. Only without reading the text within pictures, this work could be considered simply erotic. The presence of humorous dialogue suggests that *shunpon* were not created for sexual use only: it is acknowledged among scholars that when the erotic tension

created in a work dissolves in laughter, no sexual stimulation is developed.<sup>217</sup> Furthermore, despite both texts being humorous, the impression given is that *Ukiyo no itoguchi* is more humorous. This is also clearly stated in the preface: the intention is to make readers laugh, but also to depict explicitly sexual acts, probably with the aim of being used by couples in everyday life (and teaching sexual matters, thus having an educational aim).

#### 4.b TEXT-ONLY SECTION

At this point, an analysis of the lengthy text-only section at the end of each *maki* in both works is needed. In *Haru no Akebono*, we have a total of two stories, where the protagonists are women. In the first, a young lady called O-Taka お鷹, the daughter of a merchant in Edo, marries Yojiemon 与次衛門, a 60-year-old man who fell in love with her after she had several vicissitudes (a failed marriage, an eye disease). After the marriage, and despite his age, she discovers that he is still very sexually active. However, when two years have passed, the couple does not have sex anymore. This is particularly hard for 22-year-old O-taka. Pushed by her sexual desire, she has an affair with a relative of her husband named Tesuke 手助, but they are discovered by Yojiemon. In the end, he realises that punishing the two lovers would be a shame for him too, so he decides to divorce O-taka, give her half of his wealth, and retire.

The protagonist of the second story is O-Tsuya おつや, a beautiful girl and the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Edo. After the age of fourteen, O-Tsuya marries eight times, but each time the groom and his family return her to her parents in three days for unknown reasons. Her parents then decide to make her a nun, but O-Tsuya's wet nurse opposes them, and tries to find the real reason for all these failures. O-Tsuya confesses that the problem is her excessive sexual desire, so she is sent to be cured by Shikijirō 色次郎, a famous lecher. He understands where the problem is and heals her; after this cure, O-Tsuya has no more sexual problems, remarries, and has a child.

The only scholar to analyse these stories is Ivanova. In her interpretation, the first story refers to a *hiren-tonsei-tan* 悲恋遁世譚, in which failure in love leads to the male protagonist's religious awakening, while the second ends with a happy marriage, but only after the woman almost enters the Buddhist path. This led Ivanova to suggest that "topics such as weddings, matrimony, deflowering, and spousal relations, transform *Makura no sōshi* into a narrative about successful marriage at the core of which is sex."<sup>218</sup> In Ivanova's conclusion, this book can be viewed as sharing similarities with female educational texts. Indeed, this work appears to be aimed at educating townsmen on how to behave in bed and on sexual health, teaching this not only to women, but to

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<sup>217</sup> For example, commenting on humour in John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, Peter Wagner points out that "comical effects, however, whether in style or theme, are detrimental to any sort of pornography which aims at an immediate sexual stimulation." See Wagner 1988, p. 246. It is curious that in the only masturbation scene included in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* (in the section "Things that are delightful to see") the man uses courtesan critique instead of a *shunpon*.

<sup>218</sup> Ivanova 2011, p. 144.

men too. In the first story, men are warned against the consequences of excessive lasciviousness, while in the second readers are taught how to deal with an over-sexed woman.

The idea that men should be careful about avoiding ejaculating too much, and sometimes even advice about how to ejaculate, was not a creation of these texts. It was considered common knowledge in *yōjō* 養生 (Preservation of Health Methods) and *shinansho* that a man should not exceed a certain number of ejaculations, or this would cause several diseases, mostly related to the kidneys.<sup>219</sup> This is taught thoroughly in the Edo period bestseller *Yōjōkun* 養生訓 (Teaching of Life Regimen) by Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 in 1712. This notion is derived from Chinese medicine and reached Japan first through *Bonaihen* 房内編 (Human Sexual Behaviour) in *Ishinpō* 医心方 (Japanese Encyclopaedia of Chinese Medicine), the oldest surviving Japanese text (compiled in 984 by Tanba no Yasunori 丹波康賴 912-95). Later, other Chinese precepts were taught through *Kōso myōron* 黄素妙論, the Japanese adaptation of the Chinese text *Sojo myōron* 素女妙論. This work was introduced in Japan from China for the first time in 1550 (adapted by Matase Dōzan 曲直瀬道, 1507-1594), and printed around 1610. These texts were greatly appreciated throughout the Edo period, and widely read and reprinted several times, suggesting that the concepts about sexual health they conveyed were recognised as valid. In the first story, then, we have a clear example of what can happen to a man who does not follow these precepts: he falls ill, yielding his wife and half of his properties in the end. This failure would have not happened if he had followed the way of moderation and the sexual precepts taught in *yōjō* and sex manuals.

In the second case, the solution given to the problem of an over-sexed woman is to make her experience an orgasm. This is the cure that the lecher Shikijirō practices: he made her reach her peak of sexual pleasure, and we understand that, after that first orgasm, O-Tsuya returns to a normal condition, being able to marry and have a child. Here, the teaching is also clear. The only way to pursue harmony and a healthy sexual life that is successful in leaving offspring, is to lead a satisfying sexual life, both for men and women. This, too, is a concept that we find in *shinansho*.

In several sex manuals published at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is stated that women also need to enjoy the sexual experience, and there is a long list of methods a man can use to make a woman achieve an orgasm.<sup>220</sup> Again, in *Haru no akebono* we are warned about the tangible consequences of not following the precepts taught in sex manuals, and in this case, how to deal with problems when this happens. The impression that this is a text aimed at teaching sexual health precepts and how to behave in bed is strengthened when

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<sup>219</sup> See Koch 2013.

<sup>220</sup> I.e. in *Kōshoku tabi makura*, *Kōshoku kinmōzui* and other *shinansho*.

we consider the author's perspective that we also detect in the illustrated section. We have seen, for instance, that "a harmonious couple" is listed as one of the "splendid things", suggesting that the author is interested in making couples' sexual life better thanks to "harmony". Hence, since the text conveys precepts usually taught to men, but using women as protagonists, the overall impression given by the combination of text and pictures is that, despite being humorous, this work probably aimed to teach sexual behaviour to a wide public.

In *Ukiyo no itoguchi* there are three stories (one per volume), but the protagonist of all stories is a young attractive man named Jinnoshō 腎之丞. The first two stories start with a verbatim quotation of one or two lines from the opening of *Makura no sōshi*.<sup>221</sup> In the first episode, he must go to his family's villa in Fukagawa to greet three guests on behalf of his father, who is ill. The guests are three young ladies aged from 16 to 20, all likable. They start drinking sake when Jinnoshō decides to approach O-Michi first, while the other two also ask for his attention. He then has sex with the three ladies in a row. In the second story, Jinnoshō is outside with the young girl O-Chiyo お千代, who is having fun chasing fireflies. The young girl looks pretty, but is still very innocent, as she is only fourteen. Jinnoshō persuades her with a lie to have sex with him. When the girl realises what is happening, she cries, asking him to stop; he then soothes her by telling her that it hurts because she is not staying still, and he gives her a medicine that makes the vagina wider (開広丹). When he tries again, they manage to have sex. During this second attempt the young girl finally starts to feel pleasure, and the story ends describing this episode as the beginning of a love's pathway (身よりあまれる恋路とこそなりにけれ).

In the last story, the handsome Jinnoshō meets, during a journey around the Sumidagawa area, a young and beautiful nun called Myōtei 妙貞, who has retired to a retreat. Taken by her beauty, the young man asks about her and is told that she decided to become a nun due to the insistent courtship of the master of the house. After her retirement, many young men of the area tried to court her, but with no result, so when Jinnoshō arrives she already has the reputation of a cold woman and no one tries to approach her. Jinnoshō intentionally offends a samurai, and then runs to Myōtei's hermitage asking for help. The samurai follows him, requesting of the nun to let him have the hidden young townsman, but she replies that the young man has left by a back street. For this reason, she is forced to host Jinnoshō for the night, since two samurai are waiting outside for him to attempt to return home. During the night, however,

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<sup>221</sup> The first book takes the whole first sentence of *Makura no sōshi* about spring. The beginning of the second book takes the following sentence about summer. The last story is also the only one who does not start with an opening taken from *Makura no sōshi*.

she has a crisis of her (unspecified) woman's disease, and the young man has a chance to get closer, giving her medicine. This leads to sexual intercourse, during which Jinnoshō again uses a lubricant and manages to enjoy himself, although the young nun is still a virgin. After this night, the nun decides to leave her retirement and return to the world outside, and they start a long relationship.

In the three stories in *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, a male perspective can clearly be detected. The protagonist is a young and attractive man, who enjoys different aspects of sexuality: sex with multiple partners, with a young girl, and with a beautiful nun. In all cases the sexual acts are described in detail. Compared to the stories in *Haru no akebono*, the sexually didactic nature is less pronounced. Still, the text conveys knowledge. For example, in the second story, when Jinnoshō tries to have sex with the virgin O-Chiyo, she feels pain, but this does not stop him. He uses a medicine to make the vagina wider, and thanks to this, they both succeed in having good sex. Something similar also happens in the third story, where the shrewdness and experience of Jinnoshō (using again a lubricant) turns a problematic situation into good sexual intercourse. Consequently, we have the impression that this text also aims to show how men should behave in bed, while keeping the entertaining aspect by describing situations that arouse sexual excitement.

The overall impression of *Ukiyo no itoguchi* for the reader is of a less didactic text than *Haru no akebono*. The former was closer to *yōjō* and even to Buddhist precepts (as shown by the first man who, in the end, takes vows, for example), but *Ukiyo no itoguchi* seems to be aimed more at showing how to enjoy sex, rather than teaching sexual health or morality. Moreover, its humorous nature is more marked, thanks to the bigger level of betrayal of expectation created by the juxtaposition of captions and pictures. Finally, we may speculate that the captions unchanged from the source-text may have another purpose besides creating a more humorous effect. We cannot exclude the view that the pictures were meant for sexual use too. In this case, they could be enjoyed distinct from the texts. Readers may have been free to decide whether they wanted to look at pictures and captions for sexual purposes only, or to read the dialogue as well, enjoying a good laugh.

## CONCLUSION

Today, *Makura no sōshi* is considered canonical in Japanese literature, but this analysis shows that it was not widely read in its entirety during the Edo period. Though most of its contents and lengthy text were not well known, after the 17<sup>th</sup> century *Makura no sōshi* started to have the reputation of a text that contains lists. This is reflected in all the parodies that appeared

shortly after the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: the texts inspired by *Makura no sōshi* all used *mono-zukushi* as a device to list various kinds of things. Furthermore, we can say that while the reputation of *Makura no sōshi* as this kind of text was preserved throughout the Edo period, other texts were read in its place. These texts are *Shunshoshō*, the illustrated abridged version *Ehon Asahiyama*, and the parodies.

Moreover, the Edo period witnessed a shift to the erotic in the reputation of *Makura no sōshi*. The source-text, which originally contained some erotic parts among many others, began to be associated with love affairs. In this sense, *Inu makura* and *Ehon Asahiyama* were crucial in the creation of the *shunpon*, because they bring out some erotic parts already in the Heian text. First, *Inu makura* linked the succession of lists first found in *Makura no sōshi* with *shudō* and other sexual elements. Later, *Ehon Asahiyama* displays an alluring nature that was probably the result of the intention of the illustrator and compiler to make the new work more appealing. The popularity of *Ehon Asahiyama*, and this shift to the erotic, led to the publication of two *shunpon* in the late 18th century.

This analysis of the two *shunpon* has shown how the interaction between captions, new illustrations and dialogue, and a lengthy text part at the end, created two humorous and educational texts (where educational means aiming to teach sexual matters). In *Haru no akebono*, the humorous effect is weakened by the captions, since it is less unexpected and only changes the source-text to incorporate topics related to everyday life and sex. On the other hand, the text sounds more educational because it seems to be more directly inspired by *yōjō* and *shinansho*. Considering the contents of the text in the *shunpon*, it seems that the intended readership was both men and women, as clearly stated in the preface of *Ukiyo no itoguchi*. *Ukiyo no itoguchi* though, follows the text of *Ehon Asahiyama* closely, creating a higher level of humour, due to the discrepancy produced by the use of not very sexually-charged captions and playful but sexually explicit dialogues.

In both the sexually explicit texts analysed here, we see a shift from an authoritative text to a sexually explicit one that suddenly makes reference to the body and substitutes an exalted literary product with a second-rate one. This being so, in *Ukiyo no itoguchi* this process is more evident, because of the association of the same captions with sexually explicit pictures and playful dialogues, making the text particularly humorous. Also, contrary to *Haru no akebono*, we also have here some playful allusions to other texts, such as *Chōgonka* or *Soga monogatari*, where couples famous for their tragic story are shown enjoying sex, reversing their traditional representation. This humorous nature may explain the presumed greater popularity of *Ukiyo no itoguchi*, which was reissued with a new title 15 years later.

## Chapter Three

### ‘Zoku-isation’: eroticising Narihira

In literature, protagonists of famous works often come to be associated with fixed characteristics, and their names become symbols of specific roles. In the European popular imagination, for example, Don Juan is still used as a common metaphor for a ‘playboy’. Few now remember that originally Don Juan was the protagonist of a literary work written by Tirso de Molina around 1630, and that the purpose of this text was to demonstrate a life-changing lesson: that we must pay for our actions. Through time, and with the re-adaptation of this character in other works and media, the literary work and its purpose became hidden by the common interpretation of Don Juan as the ideal lover.

Something similar happened during the Edo period to the protagonist of *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise), Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880). This chapter analyses the reception and reworking in *shunpon* of *Ise monogatari*, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century up to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *Ise monogatari* is still considered one of the Heian period’s canonical works, as shown by its inclusion among the nine classics chosen for the educational comic-book series *NHK manga de yomu koten*, NHK Reading the Classics through Manga, 1993.<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, previous research has shown that from the medieval period and throughout the Edo period, *Ise monogatari* rose to the top of the literary canon and was the object of massive commentary, re-adaptation, and reworking.<sup>223</sup> It is less known, however, that this work was also the object of extensive reworking in the realm of *kōshokubon* and *shunpon*.

An in-depth analysis of *Ise monogatari*’s reworking in *shunpon* is required to outline how the text was interpreted during the Edo period. To do so, I look at both lengthy texts dedicated to rewriting *Ise monogatari*, and at pictures in miscellaneous works with their captions. Moreover, I consider page layout and formats of printed editions to clarify the intended readership and the text’s circulation. This analysis is not limited to *shunpon*, but also examines works that are not sexually explicit but can be defined as erotic. The aim of this chapter is to answer the following questions. What do the presence and nature of *shunpon* reworkings say about the reception of *Ise monogatari* during the Edo period? What kind of rewriting techniques can we identify? What is the relation between text and pictures in the sexually explicit versions, and how do they relate to the source-text?

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<sup>222</sup> Mostow 2014, p. 271.

<sup>223</sup> See Yamamoto-Mostow 2009.

This examination follows a largely chronological order and moves mostly from the erotic to the sexually explicit, to understand how the increase in sexual content modifies an existing text, and the mechanism behind it. Before examining the rewritings, I look at the reception of this text during the Edo period, to see how *Ise monogatari* was interpreted. The first phase analyses minimal parodies of *Ise monogatari* that appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the erotically charged *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* 好色伊勢物語 (Erotic *Ise Monogatari*, 1686). Then, I look at how Narihira came to be regarded as the god of sexual union in sex manuals (*shinansho*). The third phase focuses on iconic tropes of scenes of *Ise monogatari* reworked in erotica, the most extensive reworking in this sense being *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* 伊勢源氏色紙づくし (Collection of Pictures of Ise and Genji à la Mode, 1674-83). After delving into an erotic work retaining only the character of Narihira, *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* 真実伊勢物語 (Real *Ise Monogatari*, 1690), I compare the Hachimonjiya-bon *In'yō Ise Fūryū* 女男伊勢風流 (Female and Male Ise Elegance, 1712), its sexually explicit counterpart *Ise monogatari haikai mame otoko – Musō zokin* 伊勢物語豆男夢想頭巾 (Ise Stories Humorous Verse Bean-Man – The Dream Cap, 1744-47), and works that appeared in the so-called ‘bean-man series’.

### 1. The canonical *Ise monogatari* and the shift to the erotic

The interrelationship of textual variants of *Ise monogatari*, its authorship, its structure and meaning remain subjects of much scholarly debate. The commonly read variant of *Ise monogatari* is a collection of 125 loosely connected sections, with each section normally forming a discrete entity. The text is a combination of prose and poems, with a total of 209 poems in most standard versions. The author of the text is usually identified with its alleged protagonist, the poet Ariwara no Narihira. *Ise monogatari* was established as a central text in the classical Japanese literary canon as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and has enjoyed the status of one of the most read and influential texts in the tradition since. From the Kamakura period up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Ise monogatari* came to be considered canonical through its association with poetry (usually considered a ‘*uta-monogatari*’), a more dignified genre than *monogatari*. It was also reconfigured as a historical text, which was, along with poetry and scripture, regarded as the highest genre.<sup>224</sup> This perception of *Ise monogatari* as ‘*uta-monogatari*’ helped its circulation since medieval times, and it became the object of extensive commentary.

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<sup>224</sup> Shirane-Suzuki 2000, p. 5.



Indeed, scholars agree that during the Edo period, with the rise of commercial printing, *Ise monogatari* was soon absorbed into the corpus of canonical texts. The recognition of *Ise monogatari* from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards was so wide that scholars describe it as an “Edo period text”.<sup>225</sup> The first printed edition of *Ise monogatari*, the *saga-bon*, published in Kyoto in 1608, became the first piece of illustrated vernacular literature to be printed in Japan. Only in 1608, the *Saga-bon Ise monogatari* was printed 5 times, followed by new editions in 1609 and 1610, both going through multiple printings too. Then, following a remarkable number of *kabusebori* editions, in 1629 an edition of *Ise monogatari* was produced for the first time from newly carved blocks, paving the way for a proliferation of printed editions throughout the rest of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The growing appreciation of *Ise monogatari* is evident from the number of printed editions. In total, Yamamoto counts more than 57 different editions of *Ise monogatari* up to 1699.<sup>226</sup>

The first commentaries of *Ise monogatari* appeared long before the Edo period. Based on their period of composition, three stages are identified: *kyūchū izen* (before the “old commentaries”, mid-13<sup>th</sup> century), *kyūchūshakushū* (old commentaries, 15<sup>th</sup> century), and *shinchūshakushū* (new commentaries, 17<sup>th</sup> century). If this already suggests that *Ise monogatari* was read during the Edo period in its entirety and that its contents and pictures were well-known, the proliferation of *Ise monogatari* commentaries also shows a shift to more popular features. During the Edo period, the most commonly accepted commentary was *Ise monogatari ketsugishō* 伊勢物語闕疑抄 (1577) by Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534-1610). This commentary was tremendously successful in print, with 9 distinct woodblock-printed editions appearing between 1634 and 1769.<sup>227</sup> Then, from the 1650s, new commentaries intended for print began to appear, such as Asai Ryōi’s *Ise monogatari jokai* 伊勢物語抒海 (*Ise Monogatari* Drawn from the Sea, 1655), *Ise monogatari Shūsuishō* 伊勢物語拾穗抄 (Gathered Rice Ears Commentary on *Ise Monogatari*, 1680) by Kitamura Kigin, *Seigo okudan* 勢語臆断 (1692) by Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701), *Ise monogatari dōjimon* 伊勢物語童子問 by Kada no Azumaro 荷田春満, *Ise monogatari ko’i* 伊勢物語古意 by Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵, and *Ise monogatari shinshaku* 伊勢物語新釈 by Fujii Takanao 藤井高尚.<sup>228</sup>

In 1674, the first *Ise monogatari* commentary in a new format with notes, *Kashiragaki Ise monogatari shō* 頭書伊勢物語抄 (*Ise Monogatari* with Headnotes) was published in Kyoto

<sup>225</sup> Katagiri 1987, pp. 114-138.

<sup>226</sup> Yamamoto 2011.

<sup>227</sup> Several undated editions must also be considered. Data in Newhard 2013, pp. 129-131.

<sup>228</sup> See preface in Mostow-Tyler 2010.

by the bookseller Yamamoto Shichirōbei (Yama no Yatsu, mentioned in the previous chapters). Commissioned by Yama no Yatsu, the work was written by Sakauchi San'unshi 坂内山雲子 (ca. 1644- ca. 1711). This new, expanded commentary paved the way for a less scholarly and more popular-oriented production of texts that continued throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>229</sup> This work introduced a new page layout for *Ise* commentaries: headnotes at the top of the page, a format that would be used later by parodic works inspired by *Ise monogatari*. Beside commentaries, a translation of *Ise monogatari* into the common language of the Edo period, *Ise monogatari hira kotoba* 伊勢物語ひら言葉 (*Ise Monogatari* in Plain Words, 1678), was also produced to help less educated readers access the Heian text.

The period from 1620 to 1769 saw the most notable production of new *Ise*-related texts of the whole Edo period, with 34 books produced from 1620 to 1669, and 48 from 1670 to 1719. Among these, in the latter period, the portion of non-traditional, scholarly, and then 'non-serious' commentaries formed 85% of the total, while from 1720 to 1769 this reached 87%.<sup>230</sup> The growing production of non-scholarly new texts shows that, after the absorption and spreading of *Ise monogatari* in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a new phase of 'popularisation' of the source-text is evident. This "*Ise monogatari* boom', marked by the production of printed editions of *Ise monogatari*, commentaries and rewriting, reached its height in the 1680s. The most striking feature of this new wave of commentaries is clearly their 'popular nature', the wide readership to which they were now addressed.

Another interesting change in the interpretation of *Ise monogatari* in these years was the shift to the erotic. At the time, Narihira was generally regarded as the manifestation of sexual union, "the paradigmatic figure of the new age as he charts the move from *irogonomi* to *kōshoku*".<sup>231</sup> Indeed, *Ise monogatari* had been closely associated with the sphere of the erotic long before the Edo period, for the first time in the commentary *Waka chikenshū* 和歌知頭集 (pre-1260). In this text, Narihira is presented as the bodhisattva Batō Kannon, who brought comfort to 3733 women and who "kept records of his activities, writing down what had happened to him in order to proclaim the meaning of the erotic for later generations".<sup>232</sup> This kind of interpretation seems to be derived from tantric Buddhism, particularly from the

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<sup>229</sup> Five years after *Kashiragaki Ise monogatari shō*, in 1679, a highly derivative edition entitled *Ise monogatari toshoshō* 伊勢物語頭書抄 was published in Edo, illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu (re-edited in 1685). In 1693 *Ise monogatari eshō* (*Ise Monogatari* Illustrated Commentary, by Nomura Jōhaku) was published in Kyoto. Later, it became common to combine *Ise monogatari* and its commentaries with other canonical books, as in *Ise monogatari Taisei* 伊勢物語大成, published in 1697 and written by Nomura Shōkan, *Shinchū eiri Ise monogatari kaisei* 新注絵入伊勢物語改成, 1698, or *Kokinwaka Ise monogatari* 古今和歌伊勢物語 1699 (reprinted in 1799).

<sup>230</sup> Newhard 2013, pp. 148-151.

<sup>231</sup> Bowring 1992, p. 477.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436.

heretical Tachikawa 立川 sect.<sup>233</sup> *Waka chikenshū* is the first commentary to be so open about sexual practice and to explicitly link it with enlightenment. A similar view surfaces in a few other commentaries, such as *Ise monogatari zuinō* 伊勢物語髓脳 (The Essential of *Ise Monogatari*) or *Ise monogatari shō* 伊勢物語抄 (Selected Comments on *Ise Monogatari*).<sup>234</sup> For example, in *Waka chikenshū*, among the possible explanations for the title we find the reading of the characters of *Ise* in *Nihongi*, where ‘I’ (伊) is read “woman” and ‘se’ (勢) is read “man”, the work therefore being about sexual union and generation.<sup>235</sup>

Another point associating *Ise monogatari* and *kōshoku* is its quotation in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*. Although the number of chapters comes from *Genji monogatari*, the structure of the wanderings of the protagonist Yonosuke, the prototype of the ‘amorous man’, undoubtedly refers to the *Azuma-kudari* of Narihira in *Ise monogatari*.<sup>236</sup> Moreover, when Yonosuke heads off to the Island of Women, alongside various implements of sexual gratification, 200 copies of *Ise monogatari* are listed too. Furthermore, the debate among Confucian scholars during the first half of the Edo period shows a reading of *Ise monogatari* as a ‘lewd text’. Though late medieval commentators were concerned with the erotic element of *Ise monogatari*, none went as far as to denounce it directly. In the 17th century, some Confucian scholars began to express worry about the accessibility of *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* to young women. It was common at the time to include these two works among others (such as *Kokinwakashū* or *Hyakunin isshu*) in educational texts for women as models for waka. This led Confucian scholars, first in 1653, to openly complain that “people want to accustom women to lewd behavior”, and later that *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* are at “the forefront of licentious teaching” and that they “pursue the emotional relationships of the sexes, principally concerning the sensual.”<sup>237</sup>

Finally, we have seen that the first commentary with a new page layout, *Kashiragaki Ise monogatari*, was produced in response to Yama no Yatsu’s request. As previously seen, both as a writer and publisher, Yama no Yatsu’s production comprised mostly *shunpon*, actor critiques and *kōshokubon*. Yama no Yatsu’s interest in *Ise monogatari* may derive from the

<sup>233</sup> This sect literalised the metaphorical statement of Shingon doctrine by Kūkai that acquiring Buddhahood in this very body is possible, promoting the practice of ritual sex as a path to enlightenment.

<sup>234</sup> See Klein 1997 and 2002.

<sup>235</sup> Bowring 1992, p. 431. Another example is in *Ise monogatari shō*, where the graph for *mukashi* 昔 is broken up into 21 days 廿一日, the same period it took Izanami and Izanagi to give birth to their four sons after having sex. See Klein 2002, p. 2.

<sup>236</sup> A detailed study of the variety and range of quotation from *Ise monogatari* in Saikaku’s works can be found in “Saikaku to *Ise monogatari*” by Hiroshima in Yamamoto-Mostow 2009. About the use of the plot of *Ise monogatari* in *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* in particular, see p. 322.

<sup>237</sup> In “Unsuitable Books for Women”, Kornicki gives a detailed account of Confucian scholars’ views. The quotations come from Nagata Zensai’s *Kaiyo zatsuroku* 膾余雜錄, published in 1653, Asami Keisai’s lecture of 1706, and Yamaga Sokō manuscripts written between 1663 and 1665. See Kornicki 2005, pp. 152-62.

erotic nature identified in *Ise monogatari*.<sup>238</sup> Accordingly, we see a shift in the interpretation of *Ise monogatari*, from a text subject to scholarly interpretation to a suggestive one where waka were combined with lascivious content.<sup>239</sup> These points already demonstrate that, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Ise monogatari* was becoming interpreted as an erotically-charged popular work, while Narihira was considered not only the god of sexual union, but also the prototype of *iro-otoko*, or ‘amorous man’. This new understanding of *Ise monogatari* is reflected in the first erotic works of this period, and in turn stimulates the later production of *Ise*-related *shunpon*.

## 2. Phase 1: playing with *Ise monogatari* word by word

A further shift to ‘lower’ and daily-life contents can be acknowledged in the production of rewritings of *Ise monogatari*. Leaving aside *shunpon*, during the Edo period we count at least 7 works published from the early 17<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>240</sup> Among these, the first 4 works (*Nise monogatari*, *Okashi otoko*, *Yarō nise monogatari*, and *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*) have been shown to be ‘minimal parodies’ (もじり), parodies that literally reinterpret a known text and give it a new meaning.<sup>241</sup> In each case, this can be identified by a substitution of the refined Heian period contents with episodes related to daily life through slight changes in words. These new texts move from the context of the Heian court to contemporary settings, progressing from the elegant [*ga*] to the low [*zoku*].

The first work, *Nise monogatari*, opened the way to a ‘*zoku*’ reinterpretation of *Ise monogatari*, by changing the main theme to everyday life, with a focus on troubles due to a lack of money. Both *Yarō nise monogatari* and *Okashi otoko* move the setting to the pleasure quarters (the male-male love district in Osaka in the first case, the Osaka pleasure quarter Shinmachi in the latter and Yoshiwara in Edo in the reissued version *Yoshiwara Ise monogatari*). These texts seem most interested in giving practical knowledge, and exploring red-light districts with a clear, informative purpose, since names of, and information about, real courtesans are cunningly inserted into the fictional frame. This displacement of a courtly text

<sup>238</sup> “It seems conceivable, moreover, that Yama no Yatsu’s move to include an *Ise* commentary among his wares stemmed more from the interest his customers might have had in ancient permutations of the *iro-otoko* ... type than from the text’s relation to the study of poetry, though of course either group of readers might find the commentary useful”. Newhard 2013, pp. 150-151.

<sup>239</sup> It seems that *Ise monogatari* was considered at this time by some scholars a non-scholarly or erudite work. For example, the author of *Ise monogatari eshō*, Jōhaku, signed this work with the pseudonym he reserved for works less serious than Confucian texts and dictionaries. See Ichiko Natsuo 1999.

<sup>240</sup> Namely, *Nise monogatari* 仁勢物語 (Fake *Ise Monogatari*, about 1624-35), *Okashi otoko* をかし男 (Weird Man, 1622), *Yarō nise monogatari* 野郎仁勢物語 (Fake *Ise Monogatari* of Kabuki Actors, 1661-73), *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* (1686), *Ima Narihira monogatari* 今なりひら物語 (Tales of Narihira Today, 1689), *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* (1690), *In’yō Ise fūryū* (1714). See Moretti in Yamamoto Tokurō (ed.) 2010 and Yamamoto-Mostow 2009.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

first to daily life, and later to pleasure quarter-related contents, lays the ground for the last minimal parody. *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* focuses on different aspects of sensuality and sexual relationships, without the strong informative nature about real courtesans and pleasure houses.<sup>242</sup> It follows the adventures of an amorous man (*kōshoku otoko*) in Nara, Osaka, Kyoto and Edo, and describes different kinds of relationships, with a variety of women, including commoners, courtesans, and widows. Because of its nature as a rewriting dedicated entirely to love affairs, I shall examine *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* in some detail.

*Kōshoku Ise monogatari* was published in Kyoto in 1686, by Nagata Chōhei 永田長兵衛 and Nishimura Hanbei 西村半兵衛. The author, Nishimura Ichirōemon 西村市郎右衛門 (d.1696), was himself a publisher and writer, and a prolific author of *kōshokubon*, active in Kyoto from the mid-1670s to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>243</sup> *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* is a *hanshibon* in 5 volumes, illustrated by Yoshida Hanbei. 68 sections out of 125 of *Ise monogatari* are included here. The page layout, with headnotes on the upper part of the page, reminds us of the format of previous popular commentaries of *Ise monogatari* (especially Yama no Yatsu's *Kashiragaki*). This makes *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* appear more like a parody of a commentary than of *Ise monogatari*.<sup>244</sup>

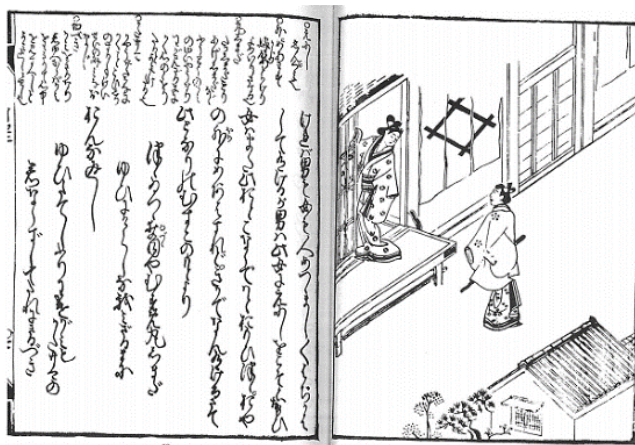


Figure 3 *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*

<sup>242</sup> A complete transcription with bibliographic notes is in *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*, Yoshida (ed.) 1982.

<sup>243</sup> See Nakajima 1983. Before the publication of *Kōshoku Ise*, this author published *Kōshoku sandai otoko* 好色三代男, *Shokoku shinjū onna* 諸国心中女, and *Asakusa shūi monogatari* 浅草拾遺物語, clearly showing a bias for erotic themes.

<sup>244</sup> The same layout will be used later in Saikaku's *Shin Yoshiwara tsunegusa* 新吉原常々草 (1689).



Figure 4 Kyoto edition of *Kashiragaki Ise monogatari*

The date of publication is rather telling, since *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* was published after *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, right in the middle of the spurring interest in *kōshokubon* and the aforementioned “*Ise monogatari* boom” of the 1680s. We must see now how the rewriting works in the following passage.<sup>245</sup>

### Section 5

There was an **amorous** man. He was secretly visiting a girl in the vicinity of East Fifth **Road**. He didn’t go through the gate because it was a place **with a lot of deep drains**; the main entrance was risky. Instead, he planned and went through where **burglars** had trodden down a wall by the side of the gate. There were **few** callers, but he went so often that the young lady’s **father** heard what was going on and posted a **(low-class) watchman** at that **gate** every night to keep him out. Since things **didn’t go as he expected**, he left composing this poem:

*Hito shirenu*

*Waga kayoji no bantarō wa*

*Yoi no taiko wo uchi mo*

*nenan*

*May the **watchman***

*who bars the passage to and fro on my secret path*

*succumb to the spell of sleep **at the drum announcing the night***

**They thought he had a nerve. The father forgave him, but the young lady started a secret relationship with a merchant of medicine and they say that, extremely worried about the reputation of the lady, they posted the watchman.**

### NOTES

East Fifth Road (東洞院五条): vicinity of Yūgao, around Inawa Yakushi.

Deep drains: in the Capital, since the East road and the West road at Horikawa include drainage channels, they are referred to in this way.

<sup>245</sup> Translations are based on those in Mostow-Tyler 2010.

Father (親仁): in *Moekui* and *Takitsuke* it is written: “what is called father is like a mat of moss between rocks, an evil, over-the-hill person. Also, if this ended in this world and fathers did not exist anymore, how quiet would be the life of lecherous people!”

Secret path: this poem blames the watchman who protects the way.

Nerve (lit. thick skin 厚皮): means to have a thick face. It was written to describe things like this.

Merchant of medicines (二条の喜平): a widower who deals in natural remedies.

Not as expected (すまた): the fact of visiting without being able to meet; it is a play on the word *sumata*.<sup>246</sup>

As is clear from this example, *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* follows the source-text closely, limiting the change to some words (in bold in my translation). The words used are quite far from the language of *Ise monogatari*; new vocabulary which appeared during the Edo period often being used. This explains why the author felt the need to insert headnotes on top, to explain this new lexicon related to sensuality while imitating the layout of previous commentaries. Overall, a remarkable amount of vocabulary in the notes belong to the world of pleasure quarters, such as *ageya*, *kamiko* etc. This insertion suggests that the work could also be used as a dictionary of the new world of pleasure quarters.

The first level of substitution in *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* is - as in the other minimal parodies - in the replacement of elements typical of Heian-period prose by something pertaining to daily life. In addition, this work focuses exclusively on the mundane world of love affairs and turns the refined Heian court into the world of pleasure quarters, adultery and bodily desires. The second level of substitution is acquired through the stress on sex. By talking only about sex-related matters, this stress widens the gap with the source-text. This substitution never leads to explicit depictions of sex, instead it makes the work more playful and creates a humorous effect, employing the mechanism of repetition with difference and contrived stress on sex in each story. Hence, what makes *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* different from the earlier rewritings of *Ise monogatari* is this emphasis on erotic matters.

In some of the pictures too, we can appreciate a similar reworking mechanism. At least 7 out of 19 pictures are set in the pleasure quarters, or depict courtesans or geisha. For example, the first double-page spread, which also plays on the illustration of the first section of *Ise monogatari*, is clearly set in a pleasure quarter.

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<sup>246</sup> Term for a non-penetrative sexual act popular in Japanese brothels.





Figure 5 *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* (Book 1 v2/r3)

This illustration repeats conventional visual tropes associated with the image of section one (i.e. a man peeping into the dwelling of two women, two deer). But the setting undergoes a dramatic change: the modest house at the outskirts of the old capital Nara is turned into a pleasure house in the main street of Shimabara, where two women -now prostitutes- are being shown in the lattice grids to passing men looking for sexual adventures.

This is not the only case of a street in a pleasure quarter featuring in the illustrations of *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*.

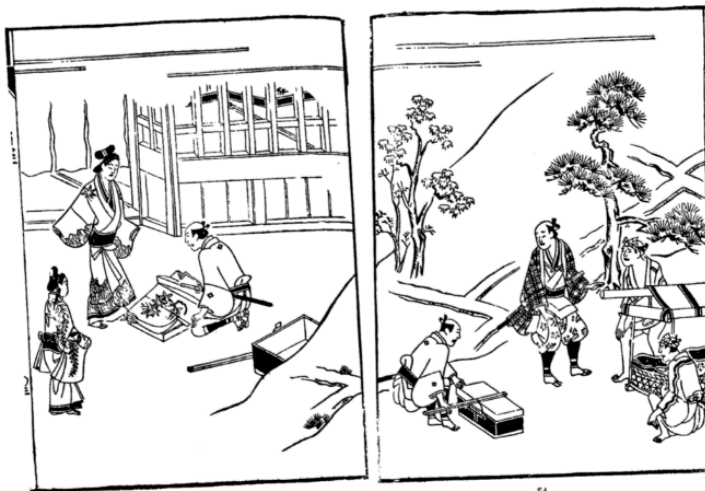


Figure 6 *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* (Book 2 v2/r3)

In the first double-page spread of book 2, on the right, the amorous man picks the maple leaves to be given to the courtesan in front of whom his manservant is depicted kneeling on the left. Behind the courtesan we see the lattice grid again, and the child attendant (*kamuro*) at her service.

A similar example can be seen in book 4.





Figure 7 *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* (Book 4 v2/r3)

In this case, we again see the main street of Shimabara, where a courtesan is surrounded by attendants, and the entrance of an *ageya* behind her, suggesting that she is ready to go to meet her client. On the right, people are looking at the scene, the one with a hat visits the quarter in disguise.

Overall, we see in pictures the same process of eroticisation and contemporisation (like a sort of *imayō*, contemporary version) that we acknowledge in the text. These illustrations do not simply update clothes, hairstyles and settings to those typical of the Edo period (as happened in the previous minimal parodies using *mitate*), but they also reinforce the stress on sexual aspects that is conveyed in the text by depicting pleasure quarters.<sup>247</sup> There is evidence that *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* enjoyed some popularity among readers. A re-issued retitled version, *Ikuno no sōshi* いくのさうし (The Booklet of Ikuno) published probably in 1694, has three different editions.<sup>248</sup>

### 3. Phase 2: the celebration of Narihira as the god of sexual union

In the same years, several sex manuals show admiration for Narihira as a lover. Influenced by esoteric Buddhism commentaries, Narihira, as the god of sexual union, is used as a guide to teach all kinds of sexual matters. The previous tradition of texts related to *Ise monogatari* is absorbed and transposed into a text with a practical use, like *shinansho*. The first *shinansho* that features Narihira is *Narihira tawaburegusa* 業平たはぶれ草 (Narihira Flirtatious

<sup>247</sup> “Ukiyo-e scholarship has generally used the modern label *mitate-e* (*mitate* picture) to mean a Floating World print or painting that updates a classical story to the Edo period, often substituting a courtesan, waitress or young townswoman for the poet, sage or warrior who had featured in the classical original, thereby giving the story a new interpretation and an erotic charge.” Haft 2013, pp. 33.

<sup>248</sup> One edition is dated 1694, but the internal title of the first book is still *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*. In another edition (probably later) the title in the first book is substituted with *Ikuno no sōshi*. Another known non-dated edition seems to be the most recent among the three. See Yoshida in *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*, pp. 173-176.

Grasses, also known as *Bōnaikyō tawaburegusa* 房内経戯草) printed in 1663.<sup>249</sup> This work is an illustrated *hanshibon* in two volumes, and the illustrator has been identified as Moronobu. While the text maintains sexual teachings rooted in the Chinese medical tradition, the character of Narihira is used in the fictional frame as a guide who instructs readers about sexual matters. The title derives from this device. The primarily didactic aim of this work is also suggested by the illustrations, which are not sexually explicit. In the pictures, we see Narihira in the act of teaching or couples interacting. The contents of the text confirm this, as seen below.

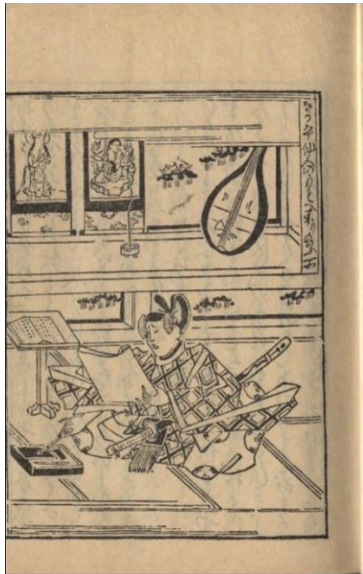


Figure 8 *Narihira tawaburegusa* book 1

The preface starts by defining ‘this Way’ 此道 (that is, the way of love), something that is common to all living beings, and ignorance on this topic would mean to be like plants or stones (木石のごとし). The beginning of the way is traced back to Izanagi and Izanami. The passage that follows seems to be inspired by tantric Buddhism, associating men with heaven and women with earth, as in Kamakura period commentaries. Then, the author explains why he chose this title, since ‘*Bōnaikyō*’ is an expression related to long life and harmony between Heaven and Earth, but in this text, it refers to sexual relations. Narihira is credited as being the first to learn this way, praying to gods for 7 days and 7 nights. At the dawn of the 8<sup>th</sup> day, he managed to meet an immortal man (仙人) called Takeuchi no Daijin, who dedicated 280 years to this practice. In the hermitage of this god in the woods, he found a booklet titled ‘About Secrets of Men and Women’ (男女秘密の事). Narihira entirely copied this fascicle to preserve its teachings, and the result is the book. This fictional frame suggests that, influenced by the process that made Narihira regarded as a god of sexual union, the author of *Narihira*

<sup>249</sup> A facsimile of *Narihira tawaburegusa* was produced by Yagi in 1976.

*tawaburegusa* takes this further and transforms Narihira into an instructor of sexual matters. The two books introduce all kinds of sex-related teachings, in 9 sections in the first volume and 13 in the second. All sections start with the formula ‘the man of the past said’ 昔男の曰く, which obviously is a play on ‘*mukashi otoko arikeri*’ and refers to Narihira.

The narrative form adopted in this text must have been well received by readers, since as we have seen, twenty years later another *shinansho* using the same device was published in Kyoto, *Kōshoku tabi makura*.<sup>250</sup> In *Kōshoku tabi makura* too, all the sections start with the formula ‘the man of the past said’. In the preface (signed ‘Ariwara no Narihira’), the author Yama no Yatsu explains the fictional frame referring almost exclusively to *Ise monogatari* more than to tantric Buddhism. He first quotes episode one of *Ise monogatari*, when the protagonist has an affair with two sisters. The preface goes on citing the sixty-third episode about Tsukumogami, the old lady who falls in love with Narihira. After a brief reference to the episode of Empress Nijō, the compiler says that he wanted to leave a collection of instructions needed in “all kinds of secret affairs” (一大事伝授秘密の品々) to amuse travelers on their journeys, so he chose the name Erotic Pillow of the Travel. After that, in the ‘witty preface’ (笑序) signed by the publisher, it is stated again that readers will learn the secret way of Narihira.

At first sight, the table of contents of both works suggests the influence of *Narihira tawaburegusa* on *Kōshoku tabi makura*.

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<sup>250</sup> Another work quoting Narihira in the title appeared between these two *shinansho*, *Narihira Honchō no shinobi* 業平本朝のしのび (Narihira Secret Loves of Japan, 1681-83), illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu. Unfortunately, I could not access any extant copy.

Table 1 – Titles of *Narihira Tawaburegusa* that sound similar in *Kōshoku tabi makura*

	<i>Narihira tawaburegusa</i>	<i>Kōshoku tabi makura</i>
<b>Book 1</b>	Forms of a good woman	
	Appearance of a bad woman	How to recognize bad and good in a woman
	About how to get a woman's heart	
	About the behavior of women	
	Entrance of the jeweled gate	
	A way to ejaculate	About the secret to ejaculate gradually
	How to conceive offspring	How to get offspring
	How a virgin can recover from pain when meeting a man	
	About the appearance of a woman	About the appearance of a woman
<b>Book 2</b>	The technique to put back the sperm	Knowledge for a man to not ejaculate
	About bad and good of a vagina	Nine types of penises and vagina (1)
	About the many names for vagina	
	Knowledge for the intercourse between men and women	
	Types of associations between ying and yang	
	How lecherous people shall compose poems	
	About inauspicious women	
	About what is called "five shallows one deep"	How men and women should interact
	About bad and good of sizes of penises	Nine types of penises and vagina (2)
	Elixirs of ying and yang	Potions to make a woman happy by Narihira
	What must be known about good and bad feelings when men and women have an intercourse	
	Potion to become an unforgettable woman	
	Potion to make the penis bigger	Potion to make the penis bigger

Table 1 lists titles of all the sections of *Narihira tawaburegusa* and the titles of sections in *Kōshoku tabi makura* that seem to be derived from the earlier work. Although several titles are similar, a look at the contents demonstrates that *Kōshoku tabi makura* does not show familiarity with the contents of *Narihira tawaburegusa*, and that the setting of Narihira as a guide is the only real similarity. Thus, even though sex manuals of this period do not share the same sexual precepts, Narihira was widely recognized as a guide to be used in both. *Kōshoku tabi makura* was successful as parts of it would be inserted in other *shunpon*. (As we have seen, it was employed in *Kōshoku meijo makura*, in the Edo version of *Kōshoku tabi makura* and *Kōshoku otogibōko*, in 1695, where all references to Narihira have been cut). After this, no manuals were produced using the character of Narihira.

We can conclude that these *shinansho* inform us about trends and best-sellers of the period. *Ise monogatari* was one of the most appreciated works and it is probably no coincidence

that these manuals appeared between 1683 and 1695, at the height of the ‘Ise boom’. We can argue that *Ise monogatari*, and hence its protagonist, were so popular throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century as to be inserted even in non-narrative works seemingly not directly related to *Ise monogatari*, such as *shinansho*. Second, we can say that these works were inspired by tantric commentaries interpreting Narihira as the god of sexual union. Third, it is also possible to suggest that the fictional frame of Narihira, the hero of such a popular tale, may also be a strategy to attract a wider audience.

#### 4. Phase 3: Iconic trope turned into erotic or pornographic scenes

So far, I have analysed erotic works that, in their entirety, use *Ise monogatari*. Scenes and texts inspired by *Ise monogatari* also appeared in a variety of texts normally labelled as *shunpon*, mostly at the end of the 17th century.<sup>251</sup> This is clear when we look at the list below, which groups works featuring scenes of *Ise monogatari* published from 1672 to 1714.

Hishikawa Moronobu - *Wakoku bijin asobi* 和国美人遊 1672-81

Hishikawa Moronobu - *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* 1674-83

Hishikawa Moronobu - *Zassho makura* 雑書枕 1678

Sugimura Jihei - *Ukiyo raku asobi* 浮世らく遊び 1681

Shimomura Shichirōbei - *Kōshoku meijo makura* 1686

Hishikawa Moronobu - *Ehon kōshoku hana no sakazuki* 絵本好色花 1687

Nishikawa Sukenobu – *Fūfu narabi no oka* 夫婦双の岡 1714

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<sup>251</sup> Some scenes of *Ise monogatari* became the object of extensive visual reworking in ukiyo-e, through *mitate* and *yatsushi*, becoming iconic scenes. About this, see Nakamachi in Yamamoto-Mostow 2009. Despite being featured in other illustrated books of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as in three double-page spreads of *Yamato e-zukushi* 大和絵つくし (Collection of Pictures of Japan, 1680) and two in *Bijin e-zukushi* 美人絵つくし (Collection of Pictures of Beauties, 1683), both by Moronobu, pictures inspired by famous scenes of *Ise monogatari* abound in texts that are considered erotic.

In approximately 15 years, we see the publication of 6 erotic works featuring scenes of *Ise monogatari* reinterpreted in relation to sex (*Fūfu narabi no oka* is the only later publication, to appear after 27 years). Hence, we see how *Ise monogatari* formed a fountainhead of depictions of love-making, suggesting that, at the time, the text itself may have been perceived as an erotic book. Notably, 4 out of these 7 works were illustrated by Moronobu, confirming the impression that he saw *Ise monogatari* as a source of inspiration for erotic tales. As the analysis will show, though texts and pictures from *Ise monogatari* in these works display a penchant for the erotic, they are not always reinterpreted in a sexually explicit manner.

The work most extensively inspired by *Ise monogatari*, *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* (from now on *Shikishi zukushi*), dates between 1674 and 1683.<sup>252</sup> The 25 episodes featured in this rewriting are derived from both *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*. Among these, 9 double-page spreads are dedicated to *Ise monogatari*. The term *shikishi* 色紙 (literally ‘coloured papers’) refers to the sheets of decorative paper on which verses were customarily inscribed in Heian Japan. According to Lane, by the Edo period this form “came to be used, as well, for miniature paintings, usually in Tosa style – and most often taking their themes from the *Ise* and *Genji* tales”.<sup>253</sup> The format of this *hanshibon* seems to develop the reference to coloured papers, and illustrations cover some one and a quarter pages, with the remaining vertical space on the right being employed for a short text. *Shikishi zukushi*’s text presents abridged versions of episodes from the source-texts, but with some carefully devised, minor deviations from the classical texts. To fully understand how the transformation from the source-text to a more sexually charged text works, we should take a look at some passages from *Shikishi zukushi* (in bold: shared; underlined: new or erotic).<sup>254</sup>

#### **Ise story 14 (plate 19)**

**This man from the capital wandered in to the province of Michinoku** to make a sneaking visit to a woman 女をよぼう. **A woman there must have thought someone from the Capital a wonder indeed, because she seemed extremely taken with him. In fact, she sent him:**  
*So if after all, I am not to die of love, I know just the thing:*  
*I should have been a silkworm, for that little life’s short span.*  
**Even her poem reeked of the country. Still, he went and slept with her – he must have felt she had something. When he left, very late that night, she said:**  
*Come dawn’s early light oh yes, in the tank you go, you obnoxious bird,*

<sup>252</sup>1674 according to Shirakura 2007, 1681-83 according to Lane. The only way to access *Ise Genji shikishi-zukushi* is the facsimile in Lane 1974, where there is also the only study on this work. The title is not confirmed in any catalogue of Moronobu’s works, and it has been adopted as temporary by Lane for convenience of reference. See Lane 1974.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>254</sup> The translations are based on the translations in Mostow-Tyler 2010.

*To learn to cook-a-doodle my darling away too soon.*

Saying so they parted, and the man went back to the capital.

As we can see from this passage, at first sight it looks like an abridged version of section 14 of *Ise monogatari* (the last three lines of the source-text have been cut), using almost the same words. On closer inspection, however, one discovers some additions in the text, created to strengthen the relation with sex and make the source-text more erotic through this subtle inclusion. Hence, although it does not cross the border into the sexually explicit (in this case there is just a reference to visiting a woman in secret at night), the text in *Shikishi zukushi* aims at deepening the erotic side of *Ise monogatari*. All these conditions were already present in the section in *Ise monogatari*, but the compiler decided to make the final aim of the encounter between lovers unequivocal.

This translation into the explicit becomes more evident when we consider the picture associated with the text.

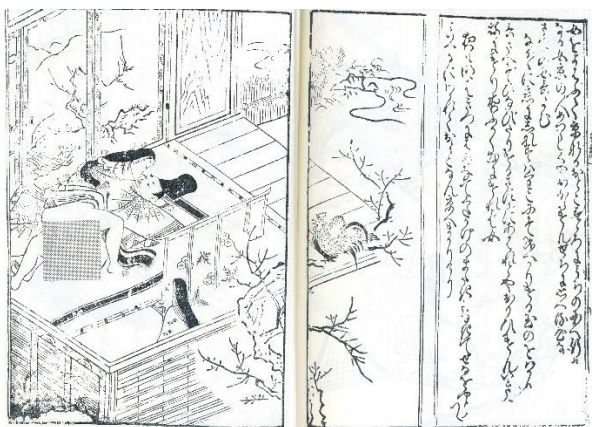


Figure 7 *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* (plate 19)

As demonstrated in figure 7, we see here a complete sexual transposition of the section of *Ise monogatari*. In this picture, the lovemaking is openly depicted covering almost all the space on the left; in the lower part a lady-in-waiting is peeking at them. On the right, a rooster, symbol of the farewell of the morning after, completes the love scene. All hints at the erotic and innuendo expressed in the text are reworked into lovemaking. Another passage shows this process further.

#### **Ise 12 (plate 15)**

**Back then he abducted someone's daughter and took her to the Musashi plain. He hid her in a clump of tall grass, where they exchanged profound love vows (*chigiru*). Since he was a thief, he was taken by the Governor of the province. People coming that way were about to set fire to the grass when in anguish the girl (said):**

*Oh no, please, today*

*Do not burn Musashi Plain!*

*Tender as young grass my darling is hiding there, and I too am hiding there*  
 They heard her, seized her and took her away.

Again, a couple of lines of *Ise monogatari* have been cut, and a sentence clarifying what happened between Narihira and the woman in the clump of grass is purposely added. The addition of this sexual element is not limited to the sentence in the text, but is also reproduced in the double-page spread.



Figure 8 *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* (plate 15)

In these two passages, we see how both textually and visually, *Shikishi zukushi* makes explicit what in *Ise monogatari* was left implicit. This occurs in all the stories. Other small changes that make the original text slightly more erotic are: ‘since Narihira was a lecherous man...’ 業平色好みなりければ, ‘they exchanged vows’ 契りし, ‘pledging love to each other’ たがひにかたらひして, etc. While the pictures are mainly sexually explicit, the verbal texts are erotic. Sex is deferred and hidden beneath metaphors (such as exchanging vows, visiting at night, etc.), but we are in little doubt that something took place or is going to take place.<sup>255</sup>

Another double-page spread inspired by *Ise monogatari* is in *Wakoku bijin asobi* (Collection of Picture of Beauties’ Diversions), published around 1674.<sup>256</sup> This *ōbon* groups love-making scenes of Japanese historical figures who were famous as lovers in several epochs— from Emperors and Princes to daimyō, courtiers and poets. As is typical in Moronobu’s erotica, pictures take up around two thirds of the total surface, while explanatory text on top covers the other third. Lane points out that “rather typically, about a third of the illustrations to this volume consist of semi-erotic scenes interspersed amid the more explicit

<sup>255</sup> Despite the shift to more explicit contents, it is worth mentioning that not all the pictures are explicit, since 3 out of 9 double-page spreads do not depict a lovemaking scene but are closer to conventional depictions of *Ise monogatari*. Moreover, one of the texts, story 20 (Ise 4), is just an abridged version of the section in *Ise monogatari*. In another case (story 21), the only alluding expression in the original is not even present in the *shunpon*, where the text is completely non-explicit.

<sup>256</sup> 1672 according to Shirakura 2007, 1674 according to Lane 1973, 1673-1681 according to Asano 2013. The only facsimile is in Lane 1973.



erotica”.<sup>257</sup> The two pages dedicated to *Ise monogatari* can be ascribed to this ‘more explicit erotica’, since the double-page spread inspired by section 12 is converted into a lovemaking scene. The text associated with the picture reads as follows.

Ariwara no Narihira was in the province of Musashi, in an area called Irumago in Musashino. [There] the daughter of a couple of that province called Lady Sayo was so beautiful that Narihira fell in love with this woman, who really existed in a place so far in the East like that. He was visiting her secretly, until he invited her, and they run away to Musashi. He left her in a clump of grass and had some rest. The people of the area ran after them, and since they were going to set fire [to the grass], the woman (said):

*Oh no, please, today*

*Do not burn the Musashi Plain!*

*Tender as young grass my darling is hiding here, and I too am hiding here*<sup>258</sup>

Since in this work too the text only takes around a third of the double-page spread, reduction was needed. In this passage, the text is not taken verbatim from section 12, but is slightly reworked. In general, the impression given by the transformation of this section is that the compiler decided to adapt the classical source-text to the context of the Edo period, both stylistically (the words used are different and the language is that of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), and in contents (the name of the area and of the lady are added; the context seems to be less refined, since she is described only as ‘the daughter of a couple in Musashi’ and the pursuers are simply ‘people of that area’). In the end, the waka is left unchanged.



Figure 9 *Wakoku bijin asobi* (plate 26)

In the illustration of *Wakoku bijin asobi*, on the left the couple is having sex in the clump of grasses, while on the right the pursuers are setting fire to the Musashi plain. We see how the visual part is moving from a general adaptation of section 12 in the text, to an explicit depiction of sex in the image.

<sup>257</sup> Lane 1973, p. 2.

<sup>258</sup> Translation in Mostow-Tyler 2010

*Zassho makura* (Pillow Divination Book) was published in 1678 and illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu (a one-volume book).<sup>259</sup> In this case too, the mise-en-page is typical of Moronobu's erotica. As suggested by the title, this text works as a collection of sexual compatibility of couples based on the five elements. In texts running across the top of the double-page spreads, women and men are each associated with one of the five elements, and their combination evaluated. In the illustration dedicated to *Ise monogatari*, both the man and the woman are associated with the element metal, and their combination is judged 'very good' 大ニよろし. The same section 12 of *Ise monogatari* is reworked in this context.

The meaning of the poem "please, today do not burn Musashi Plain" comes from when Narihira abducted someone's daughter and ran away with her. Since the pursuers were coming that way, he could not help but hide her in a clump of tall grass and wait. While they were making plans, they became aware of each other and did it enthusiastically たがひに気づきさかん也. The fire spread and burnt. This (poem) must then be about Narihira's recollection of that moment in the burnt field.

The part circled is the erotic allusion introduced anew in the text. Despite the explanation, the waka has been expunged. As occurred in *Shikishi zukushi*, in *Zassho makura* a new single sentence is added to the outline of the episode (in this case the text of *Ise monogatari* is not taken verbatim) to deepen the erotic allure of the existing passage. This happens partially in the picture, but the degree of eroticisation seems to decrease.



Figure 10 *Zassho makura* (plate 15)

In the picture, two lovers dressed in Edo-period fashion are hiding themselves in the grass, while two pursuers are looking for them. This picture is probably a *mitate-e*, since it can be suggested from the attire of the couple and the pursuers that this scene depicts a courtesan trying to run away from the pleasure quarter. This, and the lack of explicit representation of sex, differentiate this illustration from the previous one in *Wakoku bijin asobi*.

<sup>259</sup> A copy is available at the International Research Center Studies database.

Hence, not necessarily all the parts in erotic works representing scenes from *Ise monogatari* are sexually explicit in text or pictures. In the earliest dated work of Sugimura Jihei 杉村次兵衛, *Ukiyo raku asobi* (Diversions of the Floating World, 1681) neither text nor pictures are explicit.<sup>260</sup> In this work, contents vary greatly, depicting both encounters taken from history and legends, and contemporary situations involving different social classes engaged in lovemaking. Among these, section 23 of *Ise monogatari* is reworked. The picture does not include lovemaking, showing Narihira peeking at the daughter of Ki no Arisune. It seems as though the sequence would “merely suggest what is to come”.<sup>261</sup>



Figure 11 *Ukiyo raku asobi* (1v/2r)

This picture is actually playing on the juxtaposition of 'ga' and 'zoku' elements. Despite appearing at first sight as a reworking of a famous scene from *Ise monogatari*, the woman on the left is a *yarite* (as clear from her headgear), so we can assume that this is another brothel scene disguised as a classical depiction, and the woman is not the daughter of Ki no Arisune but a courtesan with her *kamuro*. The text merely offers a summary of the episode and quotes the waka.

Once upon a time, Ariwara no Narihira exchanged love vows with the daughter of Ki no Arisune, and they became wife and husband. After some time, though, Narihira started to feel something for another woman in Takayasu and with a twisted heart he was visiting her there. Izutsu was not resentful about this, and she read:

*When the wild wind blows, out upon the sea white waves rise – Mount Tatsuta!  
can you, by night, truly mean to cross those hills alone?*<sup>262</sup>

When Narihira heard the waka composed by her, he stopped visiting Takayasu. Later, their love vows became deep again.

<sup>260</sup> A copy is preserved at the Sebastian Izzard collection in New York.

<sup>261</sup> Izzard 2008, pp. 46-47.

<sup>262</sup> Translation in Mostow-Tyler 2010.

*Somehow, also the secret anguish of Michinoku  
that was tormenting me has passed*<sup>263</sup>

A different device adding erotic flavour to the contents of *Ise monogatari* is identifiable in *Kōshoku meijo makura*. This work features 4 episodes from *Ise monogatari*.<sup>264</sup> In addition to the episode of Empress Nijō that we saw in chapter 1, we also find the encounters between Narihira and the Priestess of Ise, Musashi no onna and Tsukumogami. The pictures with Empress Nijō and Tsukumogami are not explicit, while those of the Priestess of Ise and Musashi no onna depict intercourse.

In the case of the Priestess of Ise, the small picture on top depicts a woman lying in bed. The text reads:

**The Ise Shrine's messenger of sensual pleasures – About the High Priestess of Ise and Narihira**

Narihira went to the Province of Ise as the Imperial Huntsman. The Priestess received a letter about it, saying, “Since it is an auspicious person please prepare a very good reception”. The High Priestess accepted, so she let him in and they became intimate 情し. She made him welcome in several ways, until gradually they could not restrain themselves anymore, and they started to have some sensual pleasure ぬ  
れらしき事に成. What was the High Priestess supposed to do? Be the reproof of the gods as it may, she eventually succumbed to the sea breeze, and one night when everything around became quiet she went and met him secretly. She gave herself to him to such an extent that sweat and drops surfaced [on her skin]. The day after a letter came from her.

From the point of view of the text, in this case too we note the addition of more sexual contents through the insertion of a sentence, as happened in *Shikishi zukushi* and *Zassho makura*. As usual, the text of the composite page explains the episode coming from earlier literature, including the waka.

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<sup>263</sup> My translation. Source of waka unknown.

<sup>264</sup> Nakamachi also quotes a scene in *Ehon makura-e taizen* 絵本枕絵大全 (The Complete Illustrated Book of Pillow Pictures, 1682). Indeed, in the third book there is a scene that seems to recall Ise 12, but with some variants. Instead of pursuers, three women sit around a couple having sex in the grass. Since there is no text to ensure the relation with *Ise monogatari*, I did not include it in this analysis. See Nakamachi in Yamamoto-Mostow 2009.



Figure 9 Saigū Kōshoku meijo makura (6v)

(Composite-page text)

*Did you come to me? Was it I who went to you? I have no idea.*

*Did I dream it? Was it real? Was I sleeping or awake?*

The meaning of this poem is: “was it you who come to see me or was it I who went to you? I cannot discern whether it was real or just a dream.”

Narihira:

*Caught in the shadows shrouding a heart in the darkness, I am too confused.*

*Whether dream or fully real, make up your own mind tonight!*<sup>265</sup>

The meaning of this poem is: “I cannot discern either whether it was real or a dream. If we meet again tonight we will find a way to know the truth”, he said.

As in the previous cases, the text of the composite page is mostly devoted to the explanation of the waka, and sounds similar to *Ise monogatari*.

In another example, the episode of Musashi no onna, only a sentence makes explicit that Narihira and the woman had a sexual relationship, without any real description of the act. In this episode the depiction of sex is limited to the main text, and the visual representation of the intercourse is only in the main picture. The text in the composite page merely explains the meaning of the waka, as shown below.

#### To extinguish a fire with the water of waka – Narihira

When the courtier Narihira left the capital to Azuma, he exchanged vows with a girl in Musashi and they had intercourse several times 度々一義をせられけれ. Since there were too many people around (who could see them), he abducted her and left her in a clump of tall grass and fled. When the pursuers came later and were about to set fire to the grass, in anguish the girl read the poem.

(Composite page text)

<sup>265</sup> Translations of waka from Mostow-Tyler 2010.



*Oh no, please, today do not burn the Musashi Plain!*

*Tender as young grass my darling is hiding here, and I too am hiding here*<sup>266</sup>

She referred to the grass leaves as “my darling of the grass”. Since the woman of Musashi and Narihira ran away together and hid in the grass, Narihira was called ‘the darling of the tender grass’ and compared to the beloved one of the grass. The pursuers found this sad and refined, forgave Narihira, and decided to bring the woman back.

On top of the page, the famous scene of Musashi is depicted in the standard way in the small picture.



**Figure 10 Musashi no onna Kōshoku meijo makura (19v)**

The episode in *Ehon kōshoku hana no sakazuki* (1687, also illustrated by Moronobu) is similarly not sexually explicit. The text on top seems to be a short compendium of previous legends about Ono no Komachi and Narihira.<sup>267</sup> In the picture, the man and the woman dressed in the Heian style are simply standing in front of each other.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Ise 12 in Mostow-Tyler 2010.

<sup>267</sup> A copy is held at the International Research Center Studies database.

Narihira and Ono no Komachi were known as lovers since before the Edo period, despite there being no historical evidence of a romance between the two. This alleged love story has its origin in the two poems, one by Narihira and one by Ono no Komachi, that happen to lie next to each other in the *Kokinshū* as poems 622 and 623, and appear in Section 25 of *Ise monogatari*, where the narrative includes a little love tale.

<sup>268</sup> The other part of the double-page spread is dedicated to another episode, so only a half is included here.



Figure 14 *Ehon kōshoku hana no sakazuki* (13r)

Narihira was the most handsome man at the Imperial court. Ono no Komachi became his spouse when she was 23, but after this she had feelings for Mibu no Tadamine and she left. She later exchanged lovers' vows with Bun'ya no Yasuhide, but this did not last long either. She exchanged vows with the Chief Shinto Priest of Usa Shrine in Tsukushi. When Narihira was 30, he came to Usa as the Imperial envoy and became the Chief Priest, and read this poem to Komachi:

*Come the year's fifth month when blossoms deck the orange trees,  
Their fragrance, for me, recalls the scent of those sleeves  
She used to wear long ago.*<sup>269</sup>

In the later *shunpon Fūfu narabi no oka* (1714), we find another example of the interpretation of the character of Narihira as the ideal amorous man.<sup>270</sup> In this case too, the episode links Narihira and Ono no Komachi. This work was published by the Kyoto-based Hachimonjiya, the most famous publisher of *kōshokubon* of the time. This *yokobon* is a collection of stories of famous couples in three volumes, focusing on the female protagonists. The preface is signed by Jishō 自笑 (d. 1745), while the illustrator is Nishikawa Sukenobu. In *Fūfu narabi no oka* 5 folios of text and one double-page illustration are dedicated to the couple Narihira-Komachi. As is typical with Jishō, however, the fictional frame is much more complex than the previous cases and the text is somewhat longer.

In *Fūfu narabi no oka*, Narihira had already slept with 999 women, when he goes to pray at the Tamatsushima Shrine to find the 1000<sup>th</sup> one. There, he stops with his attendant Mosuke in a lodge of the pleasure quarters. He summons a huge number of local prostitutes, but the one he chooses in the end prefers to stay with Mosuke. Giving up on her, Narihira

<sup>269</sup> Poems in Ise 60 (Mostow-Tyler translation) and *Kokinshū* 139.

<sup>270</sup> A complete transcription was produced in 2008. A copy is also available at the International Research Center Studies database.

recites a poem on the veranda, from where Ono no Komachi, who was staying in the adjacent room, hears him. Hearing about Narihira's aspiration, Komachi offers to be the 1000<sup>th</sup> woman. The last part of the story is dedicated to their intercourse, where both sexual organs and the practice are thoroughly described. Unlike the previous examples, then, we have a lengthy and detailed depiction of the sexual act that occupies a quarter of the total. In the other room, Mosuke hears his master having sex, so he imitates him with the local prostitute. Hence, in this 18<sup>th</sup> century *shunpon* we see a remarkable increase in the explicitness of sexual depiction. The two halves of the double-page spread are equally sexual. In the illustration, both couples are depicted. For the first time in these miscellaneous erotic works, the text is as sexually explicit as the pictures are.

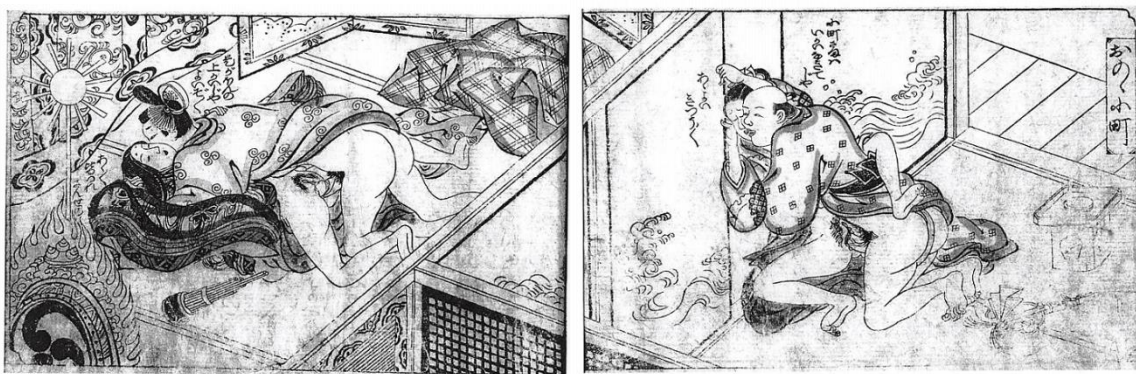


Figure 15 *Fūfu narabi no oka* (10v/11r)

In sum, of a total 17 pictures from *Ise monogatari*, 9 explicitly depict sexual intercourse. Other scenes are often alluding, but without becoming sexually explicit. This frequent featuring of *Ise monogatari* in erotica in several books that group various stories and topics, shows that this text was commonly appreciated and acknowledged as erotic during the Edo period. This is confirmed by the texts analysed here. Only some small modifications made texts erotic, and pictures often worked in combination with text in this process of deepening in eroticisation.

The sexual act is often implied, and when it is narrated, it is described in just one or two sentences. Nonetheless, it is possible to acknowledge an erotic tone, since “even though it is never described, the erotic act nevertheless ‘inhabits’ the text through the obscure presence of a metaphor. The scene is always sexualized indirectly, but even so insistently, since it is constant and persistent.”<sup>271</sup> The lack of overtly sexual textual descriptions (except for *Fūfu narabi no oka*) makes us question the classification of *shunpon* as a category and its degree of sexual explicitness, particularly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>271</sup> Hunt 1991, p. 45.



## 5. Phase 4: Mocking Narihira

With time, minimal parodies and the interplay of repetition with difference became a worn-out intertextual technique. *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* offered a new alternative. This work was published in Kyoto in 1690, between the first edition of *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* and its reissue.<sup>272</sup> It is a *hanshibon* (as is *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*) in three books. The illustrator is unknown, but it has been pointed out that two distinct illustrators may have worked on the first two books and on book three.<sup>273</sup> The layout is standard for prose-texts of the time (lengthy texts and distinct one-or two-page illustrations for each story). In total, there are 12 disconnected stories and 12 illustrations (all non-explicit, 4 for each volume). *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* is a collection of discrete stories that expunges waka from *Ise monogatari*. It can thus be considered the second rewriting without waka, and plays an important role in moving a step further from minimal parody.<sup>274</sup>

The intertextual device used here is to move the protagonist of *Ise monogatari*, Narihira, from the previous courtly setting to the new context of the urban society of the Genroku era. Table 2 lists stories of *Shinjitsu Ise* in relation to quotations from the source-text, a type of change in setting and sexual explicitness. It shows that the connection at the beginning is stronger, with a complete revision of some sections of *Ise monogatari*, as in Akutagawa (a woman carrying a man) or section 5 (a group of women substituting the guards), becoming looser in the second book (limited mostly to the use of the source-text as a fictional frame or quoting names and places) and almost non-existent in the third book (confirming the possibility that this part was modified and made more explicit for marketing purposes).

Table 2 – Stories of *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*

	Ise quote	Use of the source-text	Explicit
Book 1			

<sup>272</sup> The only extant copy of this work, made up by three books bound in one volume, is held at the National Diet Library in Tokyo and available online. A transcription is inserted in *Teihon Saikaku zenshū* vol.4. and in *Enjo tama sudare* (1952). The only study analysing the contents of this work is Kishi 1951.

<sup>273</sup> Describing differences between the illustrations of the first two books and the third, which is defined as ‘more explicit’ and ‘vulgar’, Kishi suggests that books 1 and 2 may be part of a first edition, while book 3 could have been reworked (“*obscene* pictures were introduced anew on purpose as a marketing strategy”). Kishi 1951, p. 87.

This work is usually associated to Saikaku because of the signature 西くはく at the end of preface, and studies focused on the authorship only. Most scholars agreed that this work is probably not to be attributed to Saikaku, and that the signature only tried to exploit the author’s reputation. For a summary of these studies, see Kishi 1951, pp. 87-89. The reason why it is usually considered hard to accept Saikaku as the author are the different signature and calligraphy of the introduction, and contents. See *Teihon Saikaku zenshū*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>274</sup> The year before its publication (1689), *Narihira ima monogatari* なりひら今物語 (Tales of Narihira Today) was published in Edo. It is worth mentioning here, because it is the first non-minimal parody of *Ise monogatari* omitting waka and for the first time used the intertextual strategy of the young boy as a reflection of Narihira in modern times. Despite this, the story is not innovative, resembling texts along the lines of *Uraminosuke* and *Usuyuki monogatari*. See Moretti in Yamamoto-Mostow 2009, pp. 285-289.

1.1	Section 1	Opening words Narihira witnesses two people having intercourse instead of peeking at two beautiful sisters Picture	Yes
1.2	No	Opening words	No
1.3	Section 5	Opening words Quote of one line from Ise 5 Women guards assaulting Narihira Picture	Yes
1.4	Section 6	Opening words Quote of one line from Ise 6 Woman carrying Narihira on her back Picture	No
Book 2			
2.1	Section 9	Opening words <i>Azuma-kudari</i> as fictional frame Place (Yatsunashi in Mikawa) Picture	No
2.2	Section 9	Opening words Trip on the Sumida Picture	Yes
2.3	Section 12	Title Opening words	No
2.4	Section 23	Opening words Two children playing ‘sensual games’ in front of a well	Yes
Book 3			
3.1	Section 24	Opening words Structure: a man back home after 3 years	Yes
3.2	No	Opening words	Yes
3.3	No	Opening words	No
3.4	No	Opening words	Yes

Looking at Table 2, one realises that the connection with *Ise monogatari* becomes gradually weaker. The link with *Ise monogatari* is seen mostly in a few expressions and in the overall structure. As for derived expressions, it can be noted that the beginning of every story plays on that of *Ise monogatari*, being ‘once upon a time a man’ 昔男有時. Except for the beginning, other verbatim quotations from *Ise monogatari* cannot be found. Only in two cases (stories 1.3-1.4) is a well-known phrase from *Ise monogatari* shrewdly inserted. In most of the

stories, no word-for-word quotations but situations and contents taken from the source-text are reworked (stories 1.1-1.3-1.4-2.1-2.2-2.4) in this new setting. Most notably, a third of the stories (4) are not related to *Ise monogatari*.

The author's intent is to deconstruct the idealised figure of Narihira. The text makes the most handsome and popular man of the Heian court face the adversity of being physically and economically weak in modern times. Due to this weakness, Narihira encounters various difficulties, from which the title is derived. "True *Ise monogatari*" refers to this confrontation between the poet and the real ('*shinjitsu*') world, as stated in the preface. The way the author achieves this is by showing all of Narihira's flaws, using different techniques.

The first is to focus on his weakness: there are a few references to Narihira's lack of strength or money. For example, in story 1.1, Narihira tries to approach a woman, who runs away disappointed by his appearance: "This woman looked at Narihira's face and saw that he was so pale and thin. Thinking he would not have been able to do the kind of things people enjoy, she left him there and toddled away" 此女業平の顔をのぞき色ばかりうすしろくそのやせたなりして。人のたんのうするほどの事何としてなされうぞと。とんと見すて、ちよこ / \ ばしりしける。 The 'kind of things people enjoy' may mean sex, and in this story Narihira is rejected not only because he looks weak, but also because he is judged as being not good enough in bed. After saying no to Narihira, the same woman has sex with another man:

The pillow grass near the west of Nandaimon: in this floating world such intercourse [*chigiri*] is even better than [in] a wonderful bedchamber. As if the woman had recollected something, she started to weep profusely without stopping. The man scraped his knees while he rubbed his body [on her] as if in a competition of perseverance. Gradually they started breathing hard through the nose, and people around, no matter whether women or men, gathered, and listened with jealousy to this encounter.

Similarly, it is possible to deconstruct the idealised image of Narihira by making him unsuccessful in what was one of his most known features, which was to seduce any woman. In story 2.3 ("Please do not burn the courtesan" 女郎けふはな焼きそ, a playful reference to the first half of the waka in section 12 of *Ise monogatari* 武蔵野は今日はな焼きそ), he is also rejected by a prostitute because of his economic status. In the end, Narihira can only listen to the intercourse between a client and the courtesan who rejected him, again described in detail.

The courtesan played with the important thing for a while, until finally they got to that moment when the woman forgot every shame and put into practice things seen only in *shunga*, such as cha-something [the position called *chasunobashi*]. She knitted her brows and eyes and raised her voice and breath. Seeing this, Narihira hated his pillow, and, waiting for the moment when the courtesan was not there, he gained satisfaction by pleasuring himself as he used to do when he was a child, and felt jealous of the man who managed to have intercourse.

In story 2.2, “The house of pleasure of Musashi”, not only is Narihira rejected, but his sexual organ becomes the object of mockery through its comparison with a socially inferior man. This story partially follows section 9 of *Ise monogatari* in its structure. When Narihira and his fellows arrive in the province of Musashi, they go to Asakusa, taking a boat on the Sumida river (as in *Ise monogatari*). Narihira asks to be brought to Sekiyado, a place on the outskirts of Edo, but the boatman hears “Hekiyado” (lit. vagina house), so he brings them to Fukagawa, the private pleasure quarter. They decide to summon some courtesans, but instead of being admired as people from the capital, they are ridiculed and compared particularly to men of the Kanto area. The women invite them to peek at the adjacent room, where a small man with a huge penis is having sex with a courtesan.

This man of slight build looked 52 or 53 and was also thin. He did not look like a high-born person, he could have worked at most as a bringer of shoeboxes, but since he was lewd, he was spending all his limited amount of rice [salary] in this way. They say [these things about] small men, but looking at him you could not have been more surprised. The part coming out from the bottom of the edge was like a fabric *shaku*, measuring in total 1 *shaku* 2 *sun* 5 *bun* for sure (36,4 cm). The build was plain, the sharpened part was open, and his phallus was made as that of Yuge Dōkyō.<sup>275</sup> It was flawless from top to bottom and was such an admirable tool that it was a waste for such a man to have it.

Ashamed by the comparison, they decide to leave, but do not have enough money to pay the bill. In the end, they sell all their valuables to be set free. Consequently, sex (or the ability to have intercourse) is a device used to mock Narihira.

Another technique involves the inversion of sexual roles, based on the contents of stories in *Ise monogatari*. Using this device, women in *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* do what Narihira did in the source-text, exposing his weakness. The first example is in story 1.3, where explicit sexual references are also added. This episode plays on section 5 of *Ise monogatari*. Narihira begins to visit a high-born, beautiful lady on Fifth Avenue. One night, he finds a group of guards protecting the gate. Two of the guards stop him and confess that they are not real guards, but were waiting for him to come for the tryst.

Two of them forcedly untied his obi, so he had no choice but to go on and do it. After that, these two were replaced by others, and again he could do nothing but give them what they wanted. Even if there were two of them, he could only hurry and take turns, thinking that this was possible only because he was young and good at it. Two or three of them ran to him and in the end grabbed the waistcloth in that place. They started to move around Narihira, who was alone, saying “Me first, me first!” Since he thought it would be regrettable if people heard he had left things as they were, he easily and indiscriminately worked as hard

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<sup>275</sup> 弓削道鏡, a monk of the Nara period known for his big penis.

as his hipbone allowed and realised that they were all normal women dressed as men. They were disguised as guards like this with only one intention. “If you have a nice time with us now, you can later sneak to the back, and we’ll leave it to that lady’s will” they said, and after showing him the way they left.

When they have left, Narihira counts 18 people. Still gasping, he feels proud of his performance and goes to visit the lady:

“It’s amazing that I managed to solve this all by myself until I got out of breath!”, he thought, feeling smug about his nose [‘nose’ may also refer to penis]. あつはれあれらをただ一人して肩息になる程にはよくもしこなしけると。少しは鼻を自慢して...

He sneaks in through a gap in the fence produced by stray dogs (野良犬のくづしたる花畑の垣根より。身をほそめて入し- recalling Ise 5). When he arrives, the lady is sleeping, tired of waiting. Wakened by his arrival, she eventually tries to get what she has been waiting for, but the exhausted Narihira cannot be active again after all those events, and the story ends with the lady crying.

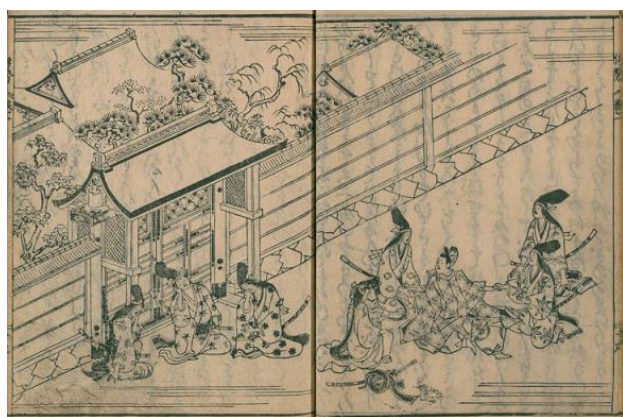


Figure 16 Story 1.3 *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*

The picture, also inspired by section 5 of *Ise monogatari*, shows Narihira surrounded by four women, while another three are sleeping in front of the gate. Everything in this depiction, from the representation of the gate to the position of the guards and Narihira, reminds readers of the scene found in the source-text, but with some playful changes. This depiction inverts the classical scene of *Ise monogatari*, and can be interpreted as comical, since inversion is a classical device for generating humour. The mechanism is clearly explained by Bergson when he says: “picture to yourself certain characters in a certain situation: if you reverse the situation and invert the roles, you obtain a comic scene. ... Thus, we laugh at the prisoner at the bar lecturing the magistrate; at a child presuming to teach its parents”.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>276</sup> Bergson 1911, p. 94.

A similar play on male-female roles can be identified in story 1.4, “Mōshiko of Togakushi Daimyōjin”. A 51-year-old woman called Mōshiko, who looks like a man かたち常に優れて女とも見ゆる所なし, falls in love with Narihira. She goes to meet him and confesses her love. He tries to run away but she blocks him and takes him on her back, as if he were a small child (in this way, we find another parody of Ise 6: 業平息もたへ / \に下帯のしまるを切なく。我身を忘れて是は何ぞととひ給へば。命のつりおのたまとこたへてなを道を急ぎ). Only in the end, does the poet manage to escape.

The picture associated with this story depicts a big woman with masculine features carrying Narihira (smaller than her and dressed in the guise of the Heian period).

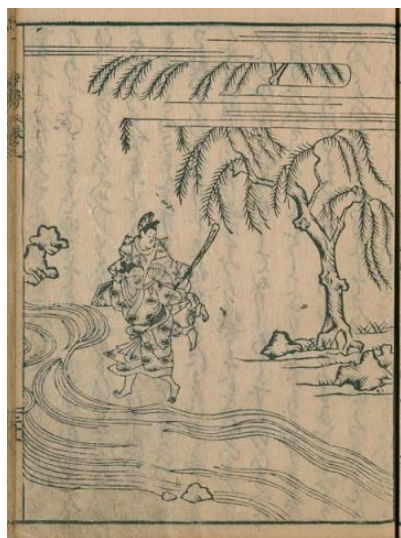


Figure 17 Story 1.4 *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*

Again, the reversal of gender roles makes this episode funny, but also highlights Narihira’s weakness, since we see a woman carrying a famous playboy on her back.

What also becomes clear from these stories is that Narihira is mocked for his appearance and sexual ability, but also for his lack of money. This negative judgement of Narihira is constant in all stories. Another example is in story 1.2, when the mother of a woman he is courting opposes the relationship. The reason is his lack of money: “when the mother heard that, she said a poor nobleman is useless” 母親もしればこそ公家の貧なるは何にもならぬものといへり. References to money are present in all the episodes, and are often the reason for Narihira’s acts (i.e. at the beginning of story 2.1 it is stated clearly that Narihira is in a very bad financial situation, and this is the reason why he moves to Edo. The lack of money is also the reason why he is rejected by the courtesan in story 2.3). In story 3.2, he cannot meet the courtesan he wants because someone already paid for her *miuke*, while he does not have money

for that, as is clearly stated: 又恋は近道にこしらへ置て金銀になることをいかなる生まれ性にか姿は人に優れ金のないこそ悲しけれ…扱も是非なしとかく貧乏公家に備わりたる身を恨むより外なし。

This perspective is a clue to understanding the aim of the work, and why the idealised figure of Narihira is deconstructed. The object of this mockery may be the society of the time, particularly the world of the pleasure quarters, where money meant everything. Another possible object of mockery could be the aristocracy, at that time deprived of economic and political power, symbolised by Narihira. Although still humorous, we identify in *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* what has been defined as ‘derisive humour’, often used to attack a group of individuals or a system of thought.<sup>277</sup> Somehow, this is the same use of sex as seen in 18<sup>th</sup> century France and England, where the sexual element was a vehicle for social criticism.<sup>278</sup> In any case, *Ise monogatari* itself is not being parodied, but is used as a tool to denounce certain flaws in the society of the time, as for example the continuous need for money and the consequent weakness of those who were not well-off enough, like Narihira. His popularity at the time, and the identification of him with the ideal lover and even the God of sexual union, make Narihira the most suitable literary character for this aim. This kind of parody is achieved as the degradation of something exalted in another way. With this device, we face what Freud defined as ‘unmasking’:

a procedure for making things comic which we are already acquainted – the method of degrading the dignity of individuals by directing attention to the frailties which they share with all humanity, but in particular the dependence of their mental functions on bodily needs. The unmasking is equivalent here to an admonition: such and such a person, who is admired as a demigod, is after all human like you and me.<sup>279</sup>

The pictures in this work are not sexually explicit, but they express visually the shift to more mundane contents we detect in the text. The contrast between Narihira as a symbol of the courtly *monogatari* and the new Genroku world is visually expressed. Narihira is always dressed as a Heian period aristocrat, while all the characters around him wear Genroku period clothes. The reworking of famous scenes and situations from the source-text can be seen in the

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<sup>277</sup> ‘Though derisive humor is so often understood, as it is by Hobbes, in terms of person-to-person comparison, we need to remember that its target may as easily be an institution or a doctrine as an individual. It may be a system of thought that a satirist is attacking, but to the extent that we identify this system with others and identify ourselves with the satirist’s perspective’. See Farber 2007, p. 74.

<sup>278</sup> See Gatrell 2006, Darnton 1995.

<sup>279</sup> Freud 1960, p. 202.

visual parody of pictures (1.1-1.3-1.4-2.1-2.2). Besides the two pictures we have already seen, another example is in story 2.2.

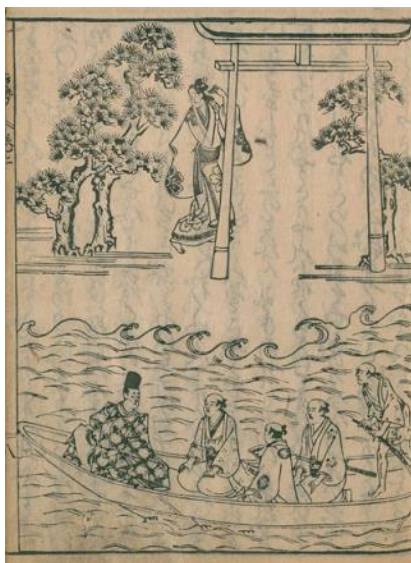


Figure 18 Story 2.2 *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*

This picture plays on the classical depiction of section 9 in the source-text. Narihira and his fellows are on a boat as in *Ise monogatari*, but the capital bird is substituted by a courtesan waiting for them in Fukagawa.

In story 3.2, “The memento of the ghost”, the picture summarises all the contents of the narration. The story starts with a man who dies because of his lecherous wife, which whom he had too much sex.<sup>280</sup> Thanks to a letter left by the man, the young widow becomes known as a very lecherous woman, so Narihira decides to approach her at the husband’s grave. When he introduces himself, thunder roars, and the spirit of the husband appears. The ghost, very pleased, says he wants his wife to join him in the after-world as soon as possible, and throws at Narihira a horn-carved dildo 角細工の一ばんがた as a tool to weaken such a woman. Narihira, scared, runs away.

<sup>280</sup> We already know that it was common during the Edo period to think that ejaculation was detrimental to men’s health.



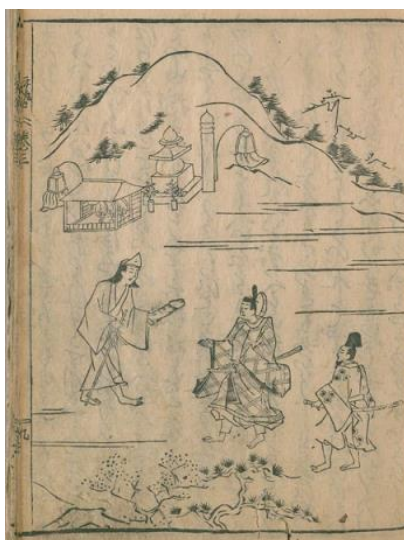


Figure 19 Story 3.2 *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*

In the picture, a man dressed in a funerary robe brings a huge dildo to Narihira. The protagonist of a refined *uta-monogatari* depicted in front of a dead man with a dildo in his hands looks very different from Narihira's conventional depictions, peeping at women or composing poems. This contrast with the previous depiction, as happens with the text, complies with parody intended as 'mocking'.

#### 6. Phase 5: sex displayed with humour

In this section, I examine the *shunpon Ise monogatari haikai mame otoko* – *Musō zokin* (1744-47, from now on *Musō zokin*), attributed to Okumura Masanobu, and the Hachimonjiya-bon *In'yō Ise Fūryū* (Female and Male Ise Elegance, 1712, from now on *Ise Fūryū*), written by Ejima Kiseki and illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu.

*In'yō Ise Fūryū* is a *yokobon* in three volumes. Each book has five sections, to a total of fifteen. In the only study dedicated to this text, Lane described it in these terms:

The intricacy of plot that was Kiseki's forte is well demonstrated in the novel *In'yō Ise fūryū* (Stylish Love-  
tales of Ise) and its sequel *Aikyō mukashi otoko* (The Love Courtier of Old), both of the year 1714. The  
work is a retelling of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Tales of Ise in modern style, with the hero Narihira as a Genroku rake,  
and his loves the courtesans and belles of the modern age. The novel is hardly great literature, but -much  
as with Dumas - one is led breathlessly on by the richness of action and incident that unfolds some new  
development on every page.<sup>281</sup>

This work substitutes the refined *uta-monogatari* of aristocrats at the Heian court with townsmen and sexual affairs in the pleasure quarters in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In this sense, it

<sup>281</sup> Lane 1958, p. 379. There are no other studies on this work. A transcription and short bibliographical introduction are in vol. 5 of *Hachimonjiya-bon zenshū*. I also used for this study the original copy held at Cambridge University Library.

substitutes the ‘ga’ *monogatari* with ‘zoku’ contents, as is usual in *fūryū* or *yatsushi*. Indeed, the term *fūryū* was used for the first time in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the works of Ejima Kiseki, and we can describe it as “the adaptation of a traditional subject to a modern setting, which meant a conceptual progression from *ga* to *zoku*, or from timeless high culture to temporally conditioned everyday life”.<sup>282</sup>

In recent years *Musō zokin* has been quoted in some works on *shunpon*. Nonetheless, most of these studies focus on pictures only, and the whole work has been considered a parody of *Ise monogatari*.<sup>283</sup> *Musō zokin* is a *yokobon* in three books and three volumes, where all pictures are grouped in the first part, and text is inserted at the end of each volume (one of the first examples of this clear separation, which later becomes a widely used format in *shunpon*).<sup>284</sup> The surmised date of publication varies according to scholars, but most agree on a period between 1741 and 1748 (just one exception dates it at around 1704-1711). The title in the table of contents is *Ise monogatari haikai mame otoko - Aikyō sanmen daikoku* 伊勢物語俳諧豆男 愛敬三面大黒, which literally means Amiable Triple-faced Daikokuten.<sup>285</sup> Indeed, the *kuchi-e* of each volume and the picture at the end of book 3 depict Daikokuten, alone or with two female deities, suggesting some auspicious aim.

Let us now look at the main characteristics of *Musō zokin*. This *shunpon* features text-only pages and pages of illustrations. In the latter, explanatory texts dialogues and *kyōku* are inserted into the image field. There are slightly more pages of illustration than of texts.<sup>286</sup> The text in *Musō zokin* narrates that one night, a poet of haikai called Murasawa Toshimi 村沢兎子身, a great admirer of *Ise monogatari*, dreams of praying at a shrine dedicated to the spirit of Ariwara no Narihira. There, a man gives him a copy of *Ise monogatari*, while a woman gives him a cap (looking like a parching pan ほうろく頭巾). Wearing the cap reduces him to the size of a bean, and in such a guise he follows the adventures of a young modern-day Narihira around the pleasure quarters. In the wanderings of the protagonist, there are references to several sections of *Ise monogatari*, from the episode of Izutsu (section 23) in the first book, to the

<sup>282</sup> Haft pointed out that “during the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *fūryū* replaced *kōshoku* (Eros, sex) in the titles of the Floating World books, serving as a euphemism after the latter concept came under negative scrutiny during the Kyōhō reforms. When it reached ukiyo-e, the term thus seems to have carried with it a suggestion of eroticism as well as the aesthetics of fashionable clothing and fine interior settings.” See Haft 2013, p. 46.

<sup>283</sup> A copy of *Musō zokin* is available online at the International Research Center Studies database, while a transcription was published in 2007. The copy does not have a colophon, hinting at a publication after 1722 (Kyōhō reforms). Only Hayashi proposed an earlier dating (1710s). See Hayashi 1970. A few articles were also published in Japanese since the 2000s. Hayakawa 2008, Shirakura 2010, Ishigami 2016, Yamamoto 2015, transcription by Taihei shujin (2007).

<sup>284</sup> Shirakura stated that *Musō zokin* is the very first example of the format putting pictures first and text all at the end of volumes. See Shirakura 2010b, p. 16.

<sup>285</sup> This refers to an embodiment of Daikokuten where the god is in the centre, with Bishamonten at his right and Benzaiten at his left.

<sup>286</sup> 13 folios of pictures and 6.5 of text in book one; 10 and 7.5 in book two; 11 and 8.5 in book three.

abduction of Empress Nijō (section 6) in the second, and the classic travelling to the East or Azuma-kudari in the last. All the adventures of the modern-day Narihira are seen through the eyes of Murasawa Toshimi, now a bean-man, who also comments on each scene in the illustrations through dialogues and *kyōku* (humorous verses connected to haikai).

Although both text and illustrations are sexually explicit, it may be contended that the distinctive nature of this text resides in its humour. First, this can be seen in the bean-man's humorous remarks, which are embedded in the narrative text. We can identify several examples of exploiting the comic effect through the comments of the bean-man. For example, in book 2 (16r), the facetious comment of the bean-man comes amidst a detailed description of sexual intercourse, where the woman, surprised by the sexual pleasure she is experiencing for the first time, asks Narihira whether he wants to kill her (是はしにまする命とりにころすのか. The use of the expression '*shinu*', literally 'I'm dying' is often used to indicate the reach of orgasm by women). The bean-man unexpectedly interrupts the flow of this sexual depiction by seeking what would be normal in another situation, a doctor (Oh, is there a doctor nearby? やれ、近所に医者わないか). In another case (book 2, 18v), when the young Narihira has his coming of age haircut, the bean-man approves saying: 'I give you my permission, brother. Hurry up, shave your forelock'. His permission was obviously not needed, and the essence of the comic effect plays on this incongruity.

Second, in the pictures, with the combination of the visual representation, dialogues and *kyōku* the humorous level increases. Incongruity was present in previous works too, but *Musō zuki* is more humorous because of the size of the bean-man and his interaction with the protagonists. An example can be seen in the illustration inspired by the Akutagawa episode in *Ise monogatari*, when Narihira abducts a woman and brings her on his back to run away from the pursuers. In *Musō zuki*, this scene is reworked adding the figure of the bean-man.



Figure 20 *Musō zuki* book 2 (6v)

To the right of the couple running away, the bean-man is hurrying to follow them, and he is depicted holding the edge of his clothes in his hands to run faster. Here, Narihira also prompts him to hurry up: ‘Follow us, Mr Bean-man!’ 豆さん、あとを / \ . In another picture, two servants look in astonishment at the sake cup:



Figure 21 *Musō zukiin* book 1 (r3)

Right behind the woman, we see the bean-man drinking from the cup. The servant says: ‘That’s weird. The sake in the cup is disappearing. It’s like someone was drinking it!’ Readers enjoy this scene because they know that the bean-man is the reason for this, at the expense of the characters in the story.

Another feature of this *shunpon* is the addition of the bean-man’s *kyōku* to each image field. These poems add humour to the text. An example of this can be seen in book one, when Narihira and Izutsu are having sex for the first time. The bean-man climbs on their hips and recites the verse: “I am shaking but I will not fall, the sleep at noon and the hat of the three times” ゆられても落ぬ昼寝や三ど笠. ‘*Hirune*’ means sexual intercourse and ‘*sandogasa*’ is a reference to their having had sex three times, as stated by Izutsu in the dialogue on the following picture, 三ツめでござんす.



Figure 22 *Musō zukiin* book 1 (4v)



The bean-man, climbing on top of the lovers' bodies and taking a closer look at the couple having sex, is an incongruous element in this lovemaking scene and invites the reader to laugh. The addition of the *kyōku* playing on the 'shaking' further strengthens the humorous effect of the whole scene.

A further example is in the *kyōku* combined with the scene of the sumo of the bedchamber. This game was based on players having sex (described in detail), where the first to reach orgasm was considered the loser. The *kyōku* is: "the sumo of the bed chamber, a group of scattered papers" 床相撲乱し紙のひと結び (probably an allusion to the papers used after a sex). The exaggeration in this case is already at the base of the humour of this scene, as we can see in the use of positions and medicines in the sexual intercourse (such as *shishi no horairi* 獅子の洞入, *kainazori* 腕反 or the potion called *rōgan* 蠟丸). On top of this, the size of the bean-man, standing there and composing poems despite no one seeing him, works as a humorous counterpart, as things happen to the oblivious protagonists.



Figure 23 Book 1 (5v/6r)

In another scene, the bean-man recites a *kyōku* when, returned to his proper size and during sexual intercourse, he drops his wig, revealing his bald head.



Figure 24 *Musō zuki* Book 2 (4v)

When his head shines, reflecting the light of the moon in that dark night, the bean-man recites: “Completely round: the man with a wig and the autumn moon” まん丸にかつら男や秋の月. In this case, the humour mostly lies in the *kyōku* which unexpectedly associates a poetic element such as the ‘autumn moon’ (often used in ‘serious’ waka) with the bean-man's bald head. Moreover, this sounds even more out of place since the poem is read by the bean-man, who is actively taking part in the narration and involved in the sexual act.

An important role in the increase of humour is also due to the introduction of explicit sexual elements. The result of the shift to the sexually explicit is clear when we look at *Musō zokin* in comparison to *Ise monogatari*. Several scenes from the Heian text are reworked to become playful lovemaking. The first example is the re-adaptation of a famous scene that is usually associated with section 9 of *Ise monogatari*.



Figure 25 *Musō zokin* book 3 (6v/7r)



Figure 26 *Kashiragaki Ise monogatari* section 9

The right side of the double-page illustration in *Musō zokin* looks like the standard illustration in *Ise monogatari*. However, on the left-hand page Narihira is depicted having sex with a paddy-field worker, contrasting with the classical scene of *Ise monogatari* on the other

page. This scene is not described in the text; hence intercourse is created anew in pictures. In this case, the aim of the new lovemaking scene seems to be to juxtapose it with the iconic scene of *Ise monogatari* on the adjacent page, creating a counterpoint by juxtaposition. Words and pictures not in harmony become a reason to create an ironic counterpoint. This play is given greater complexity by the addition of the *kyōku*. The text says that Narihira is leaving the house of pleasure where he slept with the local prostitute Yatsunashi (also playing on the name of the place that appears in *Ise monogatari* 9). Referring to the scene, the bean-man composes: “staying for a night after sleeping, and disappearing, the snow on Mount Fuji” 寝てからは泊りで消し富士の雪. As in the *kyōku* about the autumn moon, the discordant comparison between an element featured in waka (snow on Mount Fuji) and this farewell after sexual intercourse is unexpected, working as a base for humour.

Sex is used playfully again in another visual parody of a famous scene of *Ise monogatari*, the Musashino episode. Very similarly to the scene in *Shikishi zukushi* and *Wakoku bijin asobi*, here the couple have sex in the clumps of grass. When the pursuers approach, the bean-man takes his cap off and gives it to the couple.



Figure 27 *Musō zokin* book 3 (11v/12r)

This is also the last scene of the narration. *Musō zokin* adds to the scene of the couple having sex in the grass, the role of the bean-man who, back to human size again, is interacting with the protagonists - which is unforeseen and highly entertaining.

Another example of a playful reference to *Ise monogatari* can be seen in the reworking of the episode of the capital bird. In *Musō zokin*, this scene is reworked into one of lovemaking.





Figure 28 *Musō zokin* book 3 (7v/8r)

On the right, there is the classical depiction, but the boatman is a boatwoman (judging from the attire it could also be a *wakashu*). On the left, Narihira is having sex with her. The comment of the bean-man explains what is happening: “the boatman is a female bird” 船頭を鳥の雌 (in this case, the picture depicts a *wakashu* which would also make the joke more enjoyable). As happened with the illustration depicting Mount Fuji, this scene is not in the text, so we may interpret it as being created with the intention of making readers laugh through this contrast and the comments of the bean-man.<sup>287</sup>

The substitution of elements from *Ise monogatari* with explicit depiction of intercourse did not take place suddenly, but thanks to the role played by *Ise Fūryū*. The fictional frame is different from *Musō zokin*, since here a woman receives *Ise monogatari* from Ariwara no Narihira. The rest of the text is inserted as the content of this copy of *Ise monogatari*. The table below summarises the similarities in plot between the two works.

Table 3 – Contents of *Ise Fūryū* and *Musō zokin*

<i>In'yō Ise Fūryū</i>	<i>Musō zokin</i>	Pictures
A woman meets the god of male and female relations Ariwara no Narihira in Shimabara, and from him she receives a copy of <i>Ise monogatari</i> in the woods, to learn the way of sensuality.	The poet of haikai Murasawa Toshimi one night receives a copy of <i>Ise monogatari</i> from a man at a shrine dedicated to the spirit of Ariwara no Narihira, and a cap from a woman. Wearing this cap, he becomes as small as a bean. Inspired by <i>Ise monogatari</i> , Toshimi took the “I” of Ise as his crest.	
The 42-year-old fifth son of Imperial prince Abo 阿保親王, called Mandamaru, is adopted by a lower-	Toshimi starts his journey following a young man who looks like Ariwara no Narihira. He is the son of a 42-year-old rich man called Shinohara Kaho	

<sup>287</sup> On not-matching pictures and text used as counterpoint, see Nikolajeva 2001, pp. 19-29.

A few pictures depicting all kinds of intercourse (from *nanshoku* to threesomes, with the bean-man both with the cap on and off) not described in the text are inserted in book 1 (7 double-page spreads). For the illustrator, this may have been the chance to create a few explicit pictures. A higher number of sexually explicit pictures may be another way to attract readers, particularly those interested in using these works for sexual purposes. Without looking at the text at the end, it is quite difficult to follow the narration in the pictures and understand their meaning, so one might wonder whether text and pictures were supposed to be read together (limiting the observation to pictures when the work was used for sexual purposes only).



rank man called Takemitsu no <b>Sagosuke</b> 竹光の佐五助.	Shindayū 篠原果報新太夫 and is adopted by a humbler man called <b>Gorōsaku</b> 五郎作.	
Close to Sagosuke's house lives a man called Ki no <b>Aritsune</b> 紀有常, a high-born, now indebted, with his wife and daughter, the same age as Mandamaru. The two children become friends and one day, in front of the well where they used to play, they promise to get married.	Close to Gorōsaku's house lives a man, once with a good position but now poor, whose name is <b>Tsuneemon</b> 常右衛門. He has a daughter, the same age as Narihira, and they used to play together. One day the two children, seeing their reflections in the well, promise to get married.	Inspired to Ise 23
In the same neighbourhood lives a sly and evil man called Anbera no Zaiheiji あんへらの在平次. One day, he deceives Aritsune, and takes his daughter (selling her to a pleasure quarter).	In the neighbourhood, a pimp called Hotoke no Fujiroku 仏の藤六 deceives Tsuneemon and sells his daughter to a pleasure quarter.	
In the village of <b>Kasuga</b> in Nara, Narihira summons the popular courtesans <b>Michinoku</b> and <b>Wakamurasaki</b> .	In the pleasure quarter of Nara, Kitsuji, in the house of assignation <b>Kasugaya</b> , Narihira summons the popular courtesans <b>Michinoku</b> and <b>Wakamurasaki</b> .	
After some sake, they decide to play the 'market game' (盃の相場).	One night, bored during a night of rain, Narihira decides to organize a bed-chamber sumo 床相撲.	
A new shinzō refuses to work. It is Izutsu, now working in that house. Wakamurasaki brings her to the zashiki, when she immediately clings to Narihira.	Izutsu, now working in that house, refuses to work. In the shadow, she manages to snatch a glimpse of Narihira. Once in the zashiki, she immediately clings to him and recites a poem from <i>Ise</i> .	
Narihira pays for the <i>miuke</i> of Izutsu and Wakamurasaki. He sends Izutsu to a place called Ariwara and Wakamurasaki to Kawachi no Takayasu.	Hira pays for the <i>miuke</i> of Izutsu and Wakamurasaki. Itsuzu lives at Shinohara's place and Wakamurasaki in Kawachi. Every night he visits one of the two women.	
On the way from Kawachi, Narihira is approached by two <i>wakashu</i> , Okitsu Harunosuke 沖津春之丞 and Shiranami Akinosuke 白波秋之助, asking him to meet their old mother, who is deeply in love with him. He agrees and follows them to a villa in Kyoto. They are actually women.	On the way from Kawachi, Narihira is approached by two <i>wakashu</i> , Okitsu Tsuyanosuke 沖津艶の丞 and Shiranami Otojirō 白浪音二郎, asking him to meet their old mother, who is deeply in love with him. (After having sex), he agrees and follows them to a villa in Kyoto. They are actually women.	Scene of two <i>wakashu</i> in both.
A 30-year-old woman confesses her love, but her brothers return suddenly, so they must run away. Narihira takes her on his back but stops because of a downpour to find shelter close to a Buddha statue, bow in hand.	A 30-year-old woman confesses her love, but her brothers return suddenly, so they must run away. He takes her on his back and heads to Akutagawa.	Akutagawa scene
The brothers take back the woman. She is the daughter of Grand Minister Nagayoshi, her name is <b>Empress Nijō</b> and she is going to marry the <b>Emperor</b> . Narihira leaves alive, but alone.	The brothers take back the woman. She is the daughter of a merchant, her name is <b>Nijō no Osaki</b> , and she is going to marry a <b>rich man</b> . Narihira leaves alive, but alone.	
Two men, Ōtomo no Kuronushi and Shii no Shōshō take a glimpse at Yoshizane's daughter Komachi during a <b>flower</b>	In Kyoto, Narihira peeks with other two men at a <b>naked</b> beautiful woman of about 16 <b>inside the</b>	Men looking at half-naked

<b>viewing behind a curtain.</b> She is talking about her love for Narihira, whom she has never met.	<b>garden of a villa.</b> She is talking about her love for Narihira, whom she has never met.	woman vs flower viewing curtain
Komachi looks for Narihira's lodging, which she finds thanks to a plank outside. When she meets this man, two women, Wakamurasaki and Izutsu, arrive screaming that he is a fake Narihira (it was Shii no Shōshō).	Narihira hears she is going to meet a fake Narihira at 4, so the true one arrives beforehand and warns her about it (they then have sex).	Fake Narihira similar
Later, when she becomes a courtesan, Shii no Shōshō is told to visit Komachi for 100 nights.	After this, the fake Narihira is told to visit Komachi for 100 nights.	Scene of fake Narihira in sequel Aikyō 3.1
Prince Abo asks a <b>medium</b> to find Narihira, and the reply is that he is a dancer in Tamatsushima.	Hira's father asks <b>the taikomochi</b> Bunkoya no Anbei to find Hira, who is in a house of pleasure in Osaka.	
Narihira goes to Ise as the senior huntsman (Ise 69). After the procession, he lies with a woman he thinks is the Ise Priestess, but who is a prostitute. Discovered by his father, he must go back to Kyoto.	In Ise, Narihira decides that he wants to try to have sex with 12 women every 2 hours, since each one of them will represent one of the 12 hours. Discovered by his father, he must go back to Kyoto.	N. with woman vs N. staring at moon 3.2
During the journey, at noon they stop at Yatsunashi in Mikawa, where Narihira eats his bento crying because he misses Wakamurasaki and Izutsu.	During the journey, at noon Hira starts looking for a place to have lunch. He suddenly recollects memories of the time spent with Izutsu, Michinoku and Wakamurasaki and he feels sad.	No picture in M.Z. Picture of Yatsunashi in I. F.
In Akasaka, unlicensed prostitutes are stopping clients, so Narihira takes a room for the night in that lodging. The prostitute there is not an attentive one, but he sleeps with her before leaving.	Narihira stops in a lodging in Okazaki where he sleeps with the local prostitute Yatsunashi. She is not as refined as tayū in big cities, but sex is good.	Picture outside the lodging similar.
When he leaves the lodging, he sees Mount Fuji.	When he leaves the lodging, he sees Mount Fuji.	Picture of M. Fuji similar.

The similarities between the two works are striking. While both texts are loosely inspired by *Ise monogatari*, some parts are additions that make their way into *Ise Fūryū* for the first time (e.g. the courtesans Michinoku and Wakamurasaki working in the same house of Izutsu and the following *miuke*, or the parts mocking the story of *Kayoi Komachi* and the fake Narihira). Their presence in *Musō zokin* shows that it adapts *Ise Fūryū*, something that secondary literature has overlooked to date.

Despite these noteworthy similarities, some parts seem to have been changed or created anew in *Musō zokin*, as well as the ending. The *shunpon* follows the plot of *Ise Fūryū* until the episode of Yatsunashi, and the last scene in common is in the second section of book three of

*Musō zukin*, when Narihira sees Mount Fuji. The third section of *Musō zukin* is new. When Narihira arrives in Edo, he visits an acquaintance, a man called Awameshi no Kashiemon 栗飯の檉右衛門, whose daughter is a young and pretty lady, Miyako no O-tori 都のお鳥 (reference to Ise 9). He falls in love with her and the father welcomes him at home, but a jealous ugly man called Kinezō, also in love with the girl, plans to visit Miyako no Tori at night. Unfortunately, he ends up in the wrong room and has sex with her mother. When the father discovers everything, Narihira and Miyako no O-tori must run away, as in the Musashino episode. At that point, the bean-man rescues them, lending them his cap, so that they can become invisible (as seen in the picture). He explains he is not the poet Toshimi, but the embodiment of the spirit of Narihira 業平天神の末社陰陽二俣竹の神霊, who wanted to teach the way of love. He gives to Narihira a book about esoteric sexual practices 艶色奥義の一巻 and a small mallet 小槌 to bring them prosperity and money. Then he suggests that they marry. At this point Hira wakes up. He marries Otori and they live happily thereafter. Accordingly, this story ends with a marriage and a happy ending, and we discover that Narihira has become the bean-man. These parts are not in *Ise Fūryū*'s sequel, *Aikyō mukashi otoko* (also a *hanshibon* in three volumes) published between 1714 and 1730.<sup>288</sup>

In general, both works seem to share a common interest in sexual teachings. In *Ise Fūryū* and in the *shunpon*, Narihira is still the ideal lover, who knows the secrets of sexual intercourse. In *Ise Fūryū*, he is taught by a goddess about 'the secret transmission of the 8 phases of the proper practice 女男八相常道といふ秘伝, confirming the representation found in esoteric commentaries and seen in *shinansho*. In *Musō zukin*, his ability as a lover is more evident, since Narihira is celebrated for his sexual activity and always successful in love affairs. Other connections with *shinansho* can be found, such as the evaluation of some of the women in *Musō zukin* as possessing *jōkai* 上開 (lit. highest vagina). *Jōkai* is usually at the top of the ranking of vaginas which is a recurrent feature of sex manuals.

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<sup>288</sup> The colophon of the copy used for the transcription in *Hachimōjia zenshū* (vol. 5) states 1714. The Union catalogue of early Japanese books lists the same title as produced in 1714, but published in 1730. The reason for this discrepancy may be because the latter refers to a different copy. It was probably still possible to publish a book such as *Aikyō mukashi otoko* after 1722, as it is not openly sexual (hence, not a *shunpon*), and the word *kōshoku* is not in the title.

In the sequel, Narihira continues his pilgrimage to the pleasure quarters of various provinces. On the way, he meets the poet Mibu no Tadami 壬生忠見, with whom he goes back to Kyoto. Meanwhile, Komachi of Kyoto become a courtesan in Ōtsu, only to have a chance to meet Narihira. Here, we have a parody of the famous episode with Shii no Shōshō, in which Komachi causes his death (another parody of this episode is also in *Musō zukin*). The story ends with Komachi transformed to an old lady because of her sins, Narihira dying at 56 and *Ise monogatari* left as an example of previous stories about the way of passion.

Also, sometimes pictures are reworked from *Ise Fūryū* instead of *Ise monogatari*, as for example when the modern-day Narihira stays in a lodging on the Tokaidō after the episode of Yatsushashi. In both cases, we see an unlicensed prostitute outside soliciting clients.

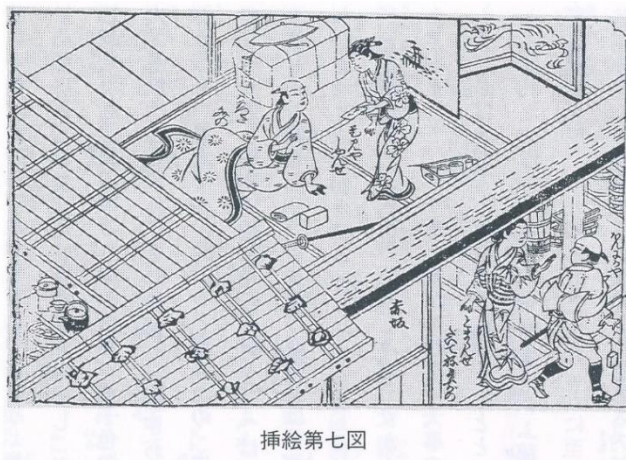


Figure 29 *Ise Fūryū*

In *Ise Fūryū*, both the prostitute outside and the lodging room are depicted. Inside, Narihira is still on the futon.



Figure 30 *Musō zokin* book 3 (5v/6r)

In the *shunpon*, the same visual device of depicting outside and inside is used, but in the room Narihira is having sex with the prostitute Yatsushashi. This inspires the bean-man comic poem, which is: “where in Mikawa iris-love-making” 三川なるハッ橋にだきつばた, a playful reinterpretation of the poem in section 8 of *Ise monogatari*.

*Ise fūryū* represents the intermediate stage between *Ise monogatari* and *Musō zokin*. It readapted the work to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century townsmen contents and sets the story in the pleasure quarters. With the previous examples given in this chapter, it marks a further departure from ‘ga’ to ‘zoku’. *Ise fūryū* can be described as erotic in the sense that the whole book is a succession of male-female relationships, mostly centered around the pleasure quarters, though without explicit sexual portrayal at this stage. *Musō zokin* simply made sexually explicit what was left unsaid. It must have been rather easy to turn *Ise fūryū* into a *shunpon*, while also

abridging the text and simplifying the plot. Sex is an important tool that makes the *shunpon* even more ‘*zoku*’. In *Musō zokin*, it is used to lower already ‘vulgar’ parts in the source-text, such as the abovementioned ‘sumo of the bedchamber, as a substitute for the game of the market (not sexual in *Ise fūryū*). The ‘*zoku*’ is represented not only by the use of *mitate* (since it is reworking an Heian classic), but also of sexually explicit contents. The deepening in ‘*zoku*-isation’ and sexualisation also make this work humorous, using contrast, as defined by Hutchenson: “The cause of laughter resides in contrasts such as between ‘grandeur, dignity, sanctity and perfection and ideas of meanness, baseness, profanity... [This] seems to be the very spirit of burlesque; and the better part of raillery and jest is founded upon it.”<sup>289</sup>

As is also acknowledged by Bowring with regard to *Kōshoku Ise monogatari* and *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari*, these works were clearly produced for the market.<sup>290</sup> The case of *Ise fūryū* and *Musō zokin* may be similar to the reworking of *Meijo nasake kurabe* into *Genji on-iro asobi*, as a *shunpon* rewriting may have been written shortly after the source-text. The intent would be to stimulate sales of *In’yō Ise Fūryū*, or to sell the *shunpon* using the popularity of the source-text.

If the plot of *Musō zokin* is heavily inspired by *Ise fūryū*, the figure of the bean-man comes from the so-called ‘*Mame otoko* lineage’ (豆男の系譜), with which *Musō zokin* has often been associated.<sup>291</sup> The term ‘*mame otoko*’ defines works where the protagonist, in the guise of a small man, witnesses all kinds of lovemaking scenes. This series started with the work published by Hachimonjiya in 1712, *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko* 魂胆色遊懷男 (Complicated Erotic Pursuits of the Pocket Man), by the same author-illustrator duo Kiseki-Sukenobu. *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko*, in turn, is considered to have been influenced by a previous work attributed to Saikaku, *Ukiyo eiga ichidai otoko* 浮世栄花一代男 (Fortune of a Man in the Floating World). *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko* is the first to introduce the figure of the bean-man and was a true best-seller, having at least two sequels (the first was a Hachimonjiya book written by Kiseki and illustrated by Sukenobu).

It will be useful here to consider the kind of influence the bean-man series had on *Musō zokin*. (Parts in bold are shared with *Musō zokin*, parts underlined are different).

- a) *Ukiyo eiga ichidai otoko* (1693). This work was the first to use the idea of voyeurism, later developed in *Musō zokin*. An earthenware craftsman in Edo, who wants to experience the

<sup>289</sup> Carroll 2014, p. 17.

<sup>290</sup> Bowring 1992, p. 480.

<sup>291</sup> Three scholars worked on the ‘*mame otoko* series’: in 1935, Ozaki Kyūya’s ‘*Mame otoko no sansakubu*’, in 1964 Hasegawa Tsuyoshi’s ‘*Mame otoko mono*’ and in 1970 Hayashi Yoshikazu’s in ‘*Mame otoko no keifu*’.

way of sensuality, prays to the **God of female and male relationships (陰陽) Ariwara no Narihira** at Asakusadera. After 100 days of praying, **he receives in a dream from the God (Narihira) a conical hat adorned with flowers. Wearing this hat makes him invisible**, and, taking the new name of Kakuregasa no Shinobinosuke (Hidden-man of the hiding hat), **he starts an erotic pilgrimage to witness other people's sexual intercourse**. He starts from Edo, then goes to Kyoto, Osaka, Sakai, Uji, Nara, Fushimi, and the story ends in Edo again, where he destroys the hat. He then spends the rest of his life as a craftsman, becoming later the Buddha statue at Kinryūzan (Sensōji).<sup>292</sup>

b) *Kōshoku toshi otoko* 好色とし男 (Erotic Man of the Year, 1695)/*Kōshoku akaeboshi* 好色赤烏帽子 (Erotic Red Eboshi, 1695). These two works were strongly influenced by Saikaku's work. Particularly, in *Akaeboshi* **the protagonist also receives from the God Narihira 業平天神 a red eboshi to become invisible**. The difference is that the protagonist is a handsome man who used all his money for sensual affairs and cannot have intercourse anymore due to a (sexual?) disease. He receives the promise to have his sexual ability back if he finds a woman to whom he is deeply connected. After witnessing all kinds of sexual relations, he meets the spirit of Komachi in the last book. At Komachi's spirit's suggestion, he finds a girl who looks like her, **they marry and live in prosperity**. This end is different to that in *Ukiyo ichidai eiga otoko*, though marriage and prosperity remind us of the finale of *Musō zuki*.

c) *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko*, 1712 (+ sequel *Mame'emon gonichi* - *In'yō iro asobi* 豆右衛門後日 女男色遊 [Later Mame'emon – Female and Male Erotic Pursuits], written in 1714 but probably published in 1730). This work is the first one using the device of the bean-man. An ugly young man called Mame'emon 大豆右衛門 receives a pill from a fairy in Osaka Mountain 仙女 that reduces him to the size of a poppy seed, thanks to which he can enter the breast (of the kimono) of other men, exchanging their spirits. In this way, he can take the place of the man and enjoy intercourse with his partner. Besides this pill, **he also receives a book of exoteric teachings 秘伝**, probably a sex manual. Under this guise, he enjoys sexual encounters with all sorts of women, commoners and courtesans, concubines, young widows, etc., until he is discovered by a daimyo. Mane'emon offers him his secret book and is assigned the role of cleaning his concubines' genitals, receiving a parcel of land as recognition.<sup>293</sup>

d) *Eiga asobi nidai otoko* 栄花遊二代男 (Flourishing Plays of the Second Generation, 1755). This work is also considered a sequel of *Ukiyo eiga ichidai otoko*, but was written by another author thirty-three years later. The surmised illustrator is Ippitsu Saibunchō 一筆斎文調.

<sup>292</sup> This work has three later editions (the first one in 1698, the second one retitled *Kōshoku kan'ninki* 好色堪忍記, the last one published in 1711 - a year before *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko* - retitled *Ukiyo kachōfūgetsu* 浮世花鳥風月).

<sup>293</sup> This work has two reissued versions, one titled *Eiga asobi shusse otoko* 栄花遊出世男 (Fortune and Plays of a Successful Man) and the other *Shikidō utatane makura* 色道うたゝね枕 (Pillow of the Sleep in the Way of Sensuality). I agree with Hasegawa that the popularity of *Eiga otoko*, which was widely read, had a strong influence on *Kiseki*. In particular, its reissued version in 1711 probably prompted the publication of *Futokoro otoko* the year after. Hasegawa 1964, pp. 16-17.

*Eiga asobi nidai otoko* was published in Edo, and it is not a product of the Hachimonjiya bookstore. The plot follows the story of *Kontan iro asobi futokoro otoko* and its sequel, narrating the adventures of the small man in various provinces.

The above summary of the contents of the ‘*mame-otoko* series’ (that continue up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century) shows that *Musō zukin* was also influenced by this production.<sup>294</sup> A few differences from *Musō zukin* are present in some works (Mane’emon is not invisible, like the bean-man in *Musō zukin*; he did not receive a cap that he can take off, but a pill with permanent effects, and he receives it from a fairy. Also, the bean-man is not just watching, but actively participates in the intercourse). *Ukiyo eiga ichidai otoko* seems to be the most similar to *Musō zukin* (Narihira is the god of male and female relationships; the protagonists receive a hat that makes them invisible in a dream; their status of invisibility is not permanent, and the protagonists can take the hat off).

The bean-man later became a trope in *shunpon*, with a few works featuring the bean-man witnessing sex scenes. The first is Suzuki Harunobu’s *Fūryū enshoku Mane’emon* 風流艶色真似ゑもん (Elegant Amorous Mane’emon, 1770), and the year after *Haikai meoto Mane’emon* 俳諧女夫まねへもん (Haikai of Male and Female Mane’emon, 1171) by Isoda Kōryūsai 磯田湖龍斎 (1735–1790).<sup>295</sup> Since the device of the bean-man later became a successful series, and *Kontan iro asobi* and *Ukiyo eiga otoko* were notable best-sellers of the time, it can be assumed that the publisher of *Musō zukin* was acutely aware of what was popular, and intentionally used both the well-known *Ise fūryū* and different elements of the equally appreciated *mame-otoko* series.

## CONCLUSION

In the Edo period, *Ise monogatari* was not only extremely popular, but began to be considered erotic. In this analysis, I have shown that different types of erotic texts and pictures inspired by *Ise monogatari* were produced in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, using various parodic techniques, and showing different degrees of sexual explicitness. All the works analysed in this

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<sup>294</sup> After the above-mentioned sequels, Hayashi listed 神靈麦わら笠, the bean-woman version *Junshoku eiga musume* 潤色栄花娘, its sequel *Junshoku eiga musume dōchū no maki* 潤色栄花娘道中之巻, *Junshoku nidai musume* 潤色二代娘 (another possible sequel), *Asobi iro mame otoko* 遊色豆男 by Koikawa Shōzan 恋川笑山 (1861–64), *Eiga otoko imayō sugata* 栄花男今様姿 by Kuniyoshi 国芳, *Ada makura karine no yume* 婀娜仮寝夢 (1846) and the *kibyōshi* by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 *Tadagokoro oni uchimame* 唯心鬼打豆 (1792). See Hayashi 1970. Also, for the bean-woman series, see “Mame onna no shōsetsu” and about the bean-man in *kibyōshi* see “Mame otoko no kibyōshi”, both in Ozaki 1935.

<sup>295</sup> *Fūryū enshoku Mane’emon* is available online at the database of the International Center for Japanese Studies and transcribed in Shirakura 2010. Plates of *Haikai meoto Mane’emon* are online on the sites of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Tokyo National Museum. In these *shunga*, however, there are no lengthy texts, but only captions and dialogues within image fields. Since the bean-man (and the couple later) are only invisible witnesses, we can acknowledge the influence of *Musō zukin*.

chapter play on the reputation of *Ise monogatari* as a text that deals with erotic matters and love affairs. In *Kōshoku Ise monogatari*, the device used is minimal parody, but the main variation is the stress on sex, since everything in this work comes to be linked to sensuality. The sex manuals reinforce one aspect that characterised Narihira (derived from medieval commentaries), which is his reputation as the ideal lover and as the god of sexual union. The pictures in miscellaneous *shunpon* make the visual content explicit.

Outside this development, *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* plays devil's advocate, since it is the only one to go against the idealisation of Narihira. Narihira is no longer worshipped but is treated mockingly. *Musō zokin* does not question the idealisation of the protagonist of *Ise monogatari*, but moves further from *Ise monogatari*, because it uses *Ise fūryū* (a transposition into modern setting of *Ise monogatari*), as its source-text and juxtaposes it with another tradition, that of the bean-man series.

In this process, we slowly move away from the text of *Ise monogatari* and face an increasing amount of sexual explicitness. *Shinjitsu Ise monogatari* not only managed to overcome minimal parody, but also proved to be funnier, thanks to the introduction of several whimsical situations, and the exploitation of the sexual aspect. The text that may be interpreted as more humorous is the most sexually explicit one, *Musō zokin*. It achieved this thanks to the use of several devices, not only the reworking of the source-text, but also the presence of the bean-man, with his comments and playful *kyōku*, dialogues and the insertion of sexually explicit pictures in contrast to the classical visual representation of scenes in *Ise monogatari*. Accordingly, we see a gradual increase in the level of humour together with sexual explicitness. One of the main features here is to make the reader laugh using different intertextual strategies: from minimal to mocking parody, from transposition to burlesque in *Musō zokin*. Here, Narihira not only becomes the god of sexual union, but is also transformed into the bean-man.



## Chapter Four

### Replacing and reimagining *Genji monogatari*

In the context of ‘world literature’, *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji) is considered to be Japan’s most representative literary work.<sup>296</sup> It has undergone an extensive number of translations, in modern Japanese and other languages, in addition to numerous adaptations and reworkings in different media. The peculiarity of *Genji monogatari* lies not only in the text itself, but also in its impact on the creation of what is called ‘*Genji* culture’, through its influence on different cultural levels in every historical period since its composition. Unlike other texts previously analysed, *Genji monogatari* did not enjoy a certain popularity in a particular period among a specific community of readers, but managed to reach different audiences through various media over a thousand years, to the extent that ‘the history of the reception of *Genji monogatari* is no less than a cultural history of Japan’.<sup>297</sup>

This process of ‘reception’ of *Genji monogatari* can also be seen through the *Genji*-inspired *shunpon* produced from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the Edo period. This heterogeneous corpus of texts deals with various contents, uses multiple layouts and book formats and encompasses different genres of Japanese early-modern literature. In this chapter, I base the analysis of fourteen *Genji*-related *shunpon* works on two main points of interest. The first, which also serves to organise the whole survey into four main sections, is their relationship with *Genji monogatari* as the (alleged) source-text. The second is their level of sexual explicitness, and the use of sex in text and pictures. These points may disclose the aim of the works analysed, also thanks to the effect created by their reuse of previous texts and sexually-explicit contents in the image-text combination. This framework is useful to define what *Genji monogatari* represented during the Edo period, since these erotic rewritings cover a period of more than two hundred years. The main research questions are: is *Genji monogatari* the source-text of all ‘*Genji*’ texts? If not, what are the other source-texts, and what relation do they have with the Heian *monogatari*? Which aspects of *Genji monogatari* did they retain? What do these intertextual relations tell us about the aim and readership of these texts? What is the role of sex in these rewritings? Do texts and pictures have different functions, or are they used in different ways?

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<sup>296</sup> I use here Emmerich's definition of ‘world literature’ as ‘a mode of relating to works, whether or not we read them, that is shaped by discourse attesting to their global position’. Emmerich 2013, p. 230.

<sup>297</sup> Shirane 2008, p. 1.

## 1. *Genji monogatari* replaced

Here, I give an overview of how *Genji monogatari* circulated in the Edo period, including its commentaries and digests, and their reception by readers. The section also examines the history of its ‘reception’ through its ‘hypertexts’, and the process of canonisation it underwent. Two recent volumes concerning *Genji monogatari* and its canonical status, as seen in ‘reception theory’, inspire the theoretical framing of this chapter: *Envisioning Genji monogatari: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, edited by Haruo Shirane, and *The Tale of Genji, Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* by Michael Emmerich.

For this analysis, it is crucial to note the distinction made by Shirane between popularity, ‘which implies increased accessibility and wider audiences’, and canonicity, ‘which implies authority, ... privilege, and pedigree’.<sup>298</sup> While canonisation places stress on the reading, interpretation, and transmission of the written or printed text, popularisation in contrast tends to dramatically transform the text to make it accessible to a wider audience, often through new media. Accordingly, canonisation can be enhanced through what Shirane defines as ‘readerly reception’, where the text is interpreted as ‘something to be read, interpreted, and taught’.<sup>299</sup> In ‘writerly reception’, on the other hand, the hypotext is the source for literary production.

*Envisioning The Tale of Genji* demonstrates that the main characteristic of the reception of *Genji monogatari* from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to today is the constant interaction between literary canon and popular culture, intended not as contrasting phenomena but as complementary factors. On the one hand, medieval commentaries played an essential role in the canonisation of *Genji monogatari*, attempting to preserve and transmit the original text, and acknowledging it in relation to history and waka, two genres of much higher status (as we have also seen for *Ise monogatari*). On the other hand, particularly from the Edo period onwards, writerly modes of reception became more common, and writers and artists used “the source-text (and adaptation or digests) to produce something unique and contemporary”.<sup>300</sup> Based on this, Emmerich seeks a substitution of the passive word “reception” to convey the “interest in the mutable history of books and other material forms, in the process by which new images of texts are produced”.<sup>301</sup> The notion he proposes is *replacement* instead of reception, where

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<sup>298</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid. p. 9. In the first category we find collated manuscripts, commentaries, variorum and annotated editions, criticism, scholarship, character genealogies, chronologies, textbooks and anthologies, all forms of writing usually linked to ‘serious’ production. Result of writerly reception are parody, pastiche, digests, adaptations and translations.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>301</sup> Emmerich 2013, p. 10.

canonisation does not imply an immutable ‘text’ at its core, but a “continual replacement of canonical texts by new, different versions of themselves that answer to the needs not only of authoritative institutions intent on preserving and propagating their own values and ideologies, but also of their consumers; the literary canon as an enormous gallery of look-alikes, a string of placeholders.”<sup>302</sup>

This notion is identifiable in the history of production of texts deriving from *Genji monogatari*. The first phase of canonisation was reached during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, with a flourishing of scholarship on *Genji monogatari* and a circulation of the text through manuscripts. Appearing in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, its first known commentary had already been compiled by the late 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>303</sup> Not all the treatises on *Genji monogatari* regarded the text as valuable reading, since it was often not considered instructive, but as a mere succession of love-related episodes. Long before the Edo period, in the Kamakura period, when the text was still mostly read by women, it came to be seen as a hindrance to Buddhist enlightenment on account of its love-related contents, so much so that it brought about the creation of the legend of Murasaki Shikibu in hell.<sup>304</sup> To compensate for this, it became common practice for aristocratic women to offer prayers (供養) for the soul of the author, a practice that also made its appearance in Muromachi period tales and *nō* plays.<sup>305</sup>

With the development of commercial printing, the circulation of commentaries was enhanced. *Genji monogatari* was one of the first works to be printed, with two editions in movable types appearing at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and five editions appearing between 1650 and 1670.<sup>306</sup> Except for the illustrated version, which provided punctuation marks, diacritic kana and glosses (unsurprisingly, it proved successful in print), the other editions included only the text without modification. Following these first publications, the annotated *Shusho Genji monogatari* 首書源氏物語 (Tale of Genji with Headnotes) was published in 1673, the same year as Kitamura Kigin’s *Kogetsushō* 湖月抄 (Lake Moon

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid. p.11.

<sup>303</sup> The first extant *Genji monogatari*’s commentary is *Genji shaku* 源氏釈 by Fujiwara no Koreyuki 藤原伊行 (1139? – 1175). See Ikeda Kikan, *Genji monogatari jiten*, 2:65.

<sup>304</sup> These stories appeared first in *Ima Kagami* (Today’s Mirror, 1170), Taira no Yasunori’s *Hōbutsu shū* (Collection of Treasures, 1179) and *Ima monogatari* (Today’s Tale, 1239). Teramoto, *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō, zokuhen*.

<sup>305</sup> We cite here *Genji kuyō sōshi* 源氏供養草紙 (Genji Devotional Offering Tale, 14<sup>th</sup> century) and *Genji kuyō* (Sanctifying Genji, mid-15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>306</sup> Data in Shimizu 2003. She somehow acknowledges the existence of ‘readerly’ and ‘writerly’ reception, since she distinguishes between printed editions or annotated versions of the text, and digests and illustrated versions. Besides the two movable type editions, we count a first woodblock edition of the text which appeared between 1624 and 1648 that includes the whole text, the illustrated version of the full text commonly known as ‘Illustrated Tale of Genji’ *Eiri Genji monogatari* 絵入源氏物語, published in 1650 (reprinted in 1654) with illustrations by Yamamoto Shunshō 山本春正 (1610-1682). This work has two pirated versions (published between 1658 and 1661, and in 1670). A 55-volume edition (*Genji monogatari* plus the one-volume commentary *Bansui ichiro* 万水一露) appeared in 1653, with an afterword by Matsunaga Teitoku.

Commentary). These versions do not alter the text, but make it easier to read, and accessible to a wider ‘popular’ audience (their text is based on that of the illustrated version, to which other volumes of supplements like *Genji keizu* 源氏系図 - ‘Genji genealogy’, are sometimes added).

Due to its length, stylistic complexity and sheer difficulty, the text of *Genji monogatari* was not as widely known in the Edo period as other famed Heian works. All the versions of the whole text numbered at least 54 volumes, reaching 60 in some editions of *Kogetsushō* (those including other supplements like *Genji keizu*, etc.). Such a number of volumes also meant that the price was high; as Bowring points out: “[I]n 1696 a copy [of the *Kogetsushō*] was selling for over twenty times what is the cost to buy a work of contemporary fiction, well beyond the reach of the average reading public”.<sup>307</sup> Even setting aside the question of the price and length of a complete text of *Genji monogatari*, we can agree with Bowring’s assertion that “[t]he work was so long and so difficult, the language now so remote, that it remained one of the great ‘unreads’”.<sup>308</sup> This is also true for the versions that were easier to read, since even the annotated *Kogetsushō* contained numerous kanji without glosses in kana. This explains the apparent lack of demand for complete texts of *Genji monogatari*, and the consequent demand for abridged versions. Readers demanded digests that could be used to acquire a passing acquaintance with the work, such as the general outline, the main characters, the major scenes and the important poetic references. Gradually, these new texts came to ‘replace’ the work itself.

The spreading of these ‘replacements’ went hand in hand with the rise of printing. *Genji kokagami* 源氏小鏡 (Genji: A Small Mirror) was first compiled in the Nanboku-chō period, and printed in three movable-type editions in the early Edo period. An edition with illustrations appeared in 1657 and was published regularly from then onwards.<sup>309</sup> Other notable examples are Nonoguchi Ryuhō’s 野々口立圃 (1595-1669) *Jūjō Genji* 十帖源氏 (Ten-Book Genji, 1654; published 1661), in ten volumes as suggested by the title, in which the author also provides new illustrations, and *Osana Genji* おさな源氏 (Genji For the Young, 1661). The great achievement of these works was a dramatic reduction in the length of the original text that nevertheless preserved all the poems. *Genji binkagami* 源氏鬢鏡 (A Hairlock-Mirror Genji), based on the text of *Genji kokagami*, a digest compiled by haikai poets Kojima Sōken 小島宗賢

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<sup>307</sup> Bowring 1988, pp. 92-93.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid, p. 92.

<sup>309</sup> The 18 versions of *Genji kokagami* counted by Shimizu appeared mostly during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. If we look at the number of copies of *Genji*-related texts listed in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, after *Eiri Genji* (664 copies) and *Kogetsushō* (185 copies), *Genji kokagami* presents the highest number of extant copies (156), although some predate the rise of printing. In comparison, there are only 37 and 34 copies of *Osana Genji* and *Jūjō Genji*.

and Suzumura Nobufusa 鈴村信房, , was published for the first time in 1660. It condensed each chapter of the *Genji kokagami* into a short paragraph and put the focus on the poetry. *Genji binkagami* is the most abridged text, having managed to reduce the 54 chapters of *Genji monogatari* to only 2 volumes, keeping a waka for each chapter and combining it with a picture and a new haikai. Lastly, other *Genji* illustrated books appeared at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, like Moronobu's *Genji Yamato-e kagami* 源氏大和絵鑑 (Mirror of Japanese Pictures of Genji) in 1685.

The number of editions of these texts confirm that this corpus of texts was replacing the original text of *Genji monogatari*. These digests were remarkably popular at the time of their publication, counting several editions and pirated versions among their number (mostly appearing in Edo). Notably, Shimizu counts a total of 18 versions of *Genji kokagami* (8 are illustrated), 5 of *Genji binkagami* (3 in Kamigata, 2 in Edo), 4 of *Jūjō Genji*, and 10 of *Osana Genji* (5 in Kamigata, 5 in Edo). It is striking, though, that these works appeared and were republished in a very limited period of time: not a single new edition of the complete text of *Genji monogatari* appeared between 1706 and 1890.<sup>310</sup> Even if we count later prints of these digests, translations and illustrated books, with the exception of an edition of *Genji kokagami* that appeared in 1824 listed in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, I could not identify any dated text printed after 1713, while the last translation known before the 19<sup>th</sup> century was published in 1723.<sup>311</sup> This questions the notion that the whole text of *Genji monogatari* was read in the period from 1723 to the end of the Edo period.

Even when the text became more accessible, in the Edo period *Genji monogatari* only reached a limited audience compared to other famed texts. In contrast with the previous medieval tradition of women readers, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century *Genji monogatari* was not used in *jokunsho* as much as *Hyakunin isshu* or even *Ise monogatari*. Its use in these works was limited mostly to its association with waka and the incense ceremony. The only text that uses *Genji-*

<sup>310</sup> Bowring cites also the 1749 “edition” of *Genji monogatari*, however as Rowley remarks, this is in fact a set of *mamehon* or miniature books where “[e]ach of the 28 volumes contains just five leaves of paper, the first of which is an illustration.” Rowley 2000, p. 23; Bowring 1988, p. 92.

<sup>311</sup> This is not all that was produced around *Genji monogatari*. A translation, *Shibun ama no saezuri* 紫文蜚の囀 appeared in 1723. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a few *Genji*-related texts were published, but mostly in the first 20 years. We shall also add here the translation into 18<sup>th</sup>-century Japanese by Miyako no Nishiki 都の錦 (1675 -?) *Fūryū Genji monogatari* 風流源氏物語 (A Fashionable Tale of Genji, 1703). Other illustrated books such as Okumura Masanobu's *Wakakusa Genji* 若草源氏, *Kōhaku Genji* 紅白源氏 and *Hinazuru Genji* 雛鶴源氏 were published between 1706 and 1708. *Zokuge Genji monogatari* 俗解源氏物語 (Vernacular Interpretation of the Tale of Genji) was printed in 1721. For more about *Genji-monogatari*'s translations and vernacularisations, see Clements 2013 and 2015.

The only *Genji*-related illustrated books that appeared in the mid or late 18<sup>th</sup> century are *Fūryū Yatsushi Genji* 風流略源 by Koryūsai (1768/69 ca), *Ehon haru no kotobuki* by Suzuki Harunobu 絵本春の寿, and *Genji monogatari gojūyojō ezukushi* 源氏物語五十四帖絵尽 by Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉 (1790–1848). However, these works retain only one illustration, waka and incense symbol for each chapter, without introducing any text.

related contents, *Onna Genji kyōkun kagami* (Mirror of Genji Teachings for Women, 1713) seems to be more of an exception to this trend.<sup>312</sup> Similarly to *Ise monogatari*, Confucian scholars expressed their opposition to the introduction of *Genji monogatari* among texts aimed at educating young women.<sup>313</sup>

The reason for this critique of *Genji monogatari* was the ‘licentiousness’ of its subject matter (its perceived *eroticism*). From the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the erotic interpretation of *Genji monogatari* came to be widespread, as is reflected in *Genji monogatari*’s influence on Saikaku’s *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* in 1682.<sup>314</sup> Later, *Genji*-inspired motifs, often set in the pleasure quarters, began to make their way into ukiyo-e. Courtesans were depicted in association with elements alluding to *Genji monogatari*, through the technique of *mitate*.<sup>315</sup> *Genji monogatari* was in fact interpreted in two apparently contrasting but complementary ways. On the one hand, as the symbol of the court culture, hence of refinement and elegance, some of its famous scenes were readapted into ukiyo-e erotic prints, and then reworked into mundane (‘*zoku*’) contents. As an emblem of the Kyoto court, it was so closely associated with sexuality that courtesans would take *Genji*-names from *Genji monogatari*, with the aim of showing their new elevated status. On the other hand, some intellectuals tried to re-evaluate the text, arguing that it could be used to teach morality (a rewarding-good-and-punishing-evil theme - *kanzen chōaku* 勧善懲悪).<sup>316</sup>

In sum, data on printed editions and debate on this text seem to confirm Emmerich’s view that *The Tale of Genji* itself is not being “received” that much even in Japan, and that ‘we should look at the texts that were read instead, and which took its place.’<sup>317</sup> It is not possible to affirm with certainty that between 1723 and 1890 this work was not read or not known. For instance, Markus argues alluding to the wide circulation of *Kogestushō*, that even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century *Genji monogatari* was read through the Genroku version of this commentary.<sup>318</sup> Indeed, we know that intellectuals and educated people were still reading it, but what we should

<sup>312</sup> In “*Genji monogatari to jokunsho*”, Mostow accomplishes a thorough examination of *Genji*-related contents in educational works for women, showing that in many cases these texts were not using contents of *Genji monogatari*, but waka or a list of *Genji* chapters for the incense ceremony (as in *Onna chōhōki* 女重宝記 [Great Treasure for Women] in 1692). After *Onna Genji kyōkun kagami*, *Genji monogatari* did not appear in any *jokunsho* until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mostow in Kojima et al. 2008.

<sup>313</sup> See Kornicki 2005.

<sup>314</sup> It has been indicated that the 54 episodes of *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* consciously emulate the 54 chapters of *Genji monogatari*, and the plot itself seems to be a transposition of the life of Prince Genji from the refined setting of the Heian court to the Genroku era pleasure quarters.

<sup>315</sup> Both Nakamachi and Watanabe provide a clear example of this process using the representation of the Third Princess in several ukiyo-e illustrations during the Edo period. See Nakamachi in Shirane 2008 and Watanabe in Kojima et al. 2008.

<sup>316</sup> This contrast in the ‘reception’ of *Genji monogatari* during the Edo period has been discussed several times. Markus used the word ‘dichotomy’ between courtly and amatory perceptions of *Genji*. Screech used the expressions “sexualization of *Genji*” and “Genjization of sex”. See Watanabe pp. 286-86, Markus 1982, pp. 175 182, Screech 1999, p. 243.

<sup>317</sup> Emmerich 2013, p. 11.

<sup>318</sup> Markus 1986.

question is the assumption that ordinary townspeople were familiar with *Genji monogatari*. Digests and illustrated books mostly appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, so we must remember that in a period of more than 200 years the written language and cultural background also changed. It cannot be taken for granted that people from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards could read texts that had first appeared a century earlier. The study of *shunpon* throughout the Edo period, then, can show whether a ‘replacement’ of *Genji monogatari* really took place. This can be clarified by looking at the source-texts of the supposed rewritings of *Genji monogatari*, and at their period of publication. Moreover, the analysis of the contents of the rewritings can shed more light on which aspects of the Heian text were retained, and which *Genji* digests were more used.

## 2. *Genji monogatari* readapted: reconfiguring *Genji* abridgements

In this section, I analyse two works that readapt contents related to *Genji monogatari*, which appeared at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### 2.1. *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi*

The first work in this category is *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* (1674-83, from here on *Shikishi zukushi*) by Moronobu, partially analysed in the chapter about *Ise monogatari*. Although both *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari* feature here, the work demonstrates a moderate preference for *Genji monogatari*, which covers up to 13 double-page spreads (it was 9 for *Ise monogatari*, plus 3 non-erotic double-page spreads without text at the beginning and end). In the case of *Ise monogatari*, the text is taken directly from the source-text, and no more than one or two lines of the original were cut, with only sporadic erotic addition. This was possible because of the brevity of *Ise monogatari*’s sections. The complexity and textual length of *Genji monogatari* make this impossible. In *Shikishi zukushi*, however, an extensive process of abridgement was needed to retain a short summary of the story in each section and one of the several waka in each chapter of *Genji monogatari*. Hence, Moronobu used *Genji binkagami*, which is the earlier digest that abridges most of the text of *Genji monogatari*, and retains just one waka for each chapter. When I compared *Shikishi zukushi* with *Genji binkagami*, the latter proved to be the source-text.

As a reference, I list below two selected passages from *Shikishi zukushi*, comparing them to *Genji binkagami*. In the analysis, I also consider how new sexual contents were added and why.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> I used the facsimile of *Shikishi zukushi* in Lane 1974 and the copy of a *kaidaibon* of *Genji binkagami* in the Waseda University Library. All the translations are mine, except for the waka, taken from Seidensticker’s translation.

源氏鬘鏡	源氏色紙
浮舟	第一八図
<u>此巻うき舟といふ子あつまやの君</u> （た <u>ち花の小島の色はかはらしをこのうき舟</u> <u>ぞ行来しられぬ）</u> 此君をかほるいなひ <u>てうちに至て時々かよふ</u> 兵部卿の宮も <u>おほしてかほるのまねをしてよる忍はせ</u> <u>給ひて後又忍はせ給ふにちいさき舟にの</u> <u>りていと心ほそく有明の月すみのほりて</u> <u>水のおもくもりなきに此橘の小嶋と申て</u> <u>御舟さしとめたれば</u> <u>年ふ共かはらんものかたちはなの小嶋の</u> <u>さきにちぎる心は</u> との給ひし返歌そかし（俳句は略）	<u>あづまやのきみをかほる大將いなひ給</u> <u>ふて宇治に家つくりしておかせ給ひて</u> <u>折々かよひ給ふ</u> 兵部きやうの宮もお <u>ぼしてかほるのかよい給ひしごとくに</u> <u>よなよなしのばせ給ふ時ちいさきふね</u> <u>をつくりてもろともにしのびてちぎり</u> <u>給ふがいと心ばあおくありあけの月す</u> <u>みのぼりて水のをもくもりなきに舟さ</u> <u>しとめてたちばなの小嶋と申所にかか</u> <u>り給ひてよめる</u> <u>年ふともかはらんものかたちばなのこ</u> <u>じまのさきにちぎるころは</u>

**Ukifune** (plate 18)

The Azumaya Lady [Ukifune], was approached by Major Captain Kaoru, who also built a house in Uji in which to put her. He made her live there in secret, and he would visit her sometimes. The Prince Minister of war [Niou no miya] also felt something [for her], and like Kaoru, he prepared a small boat and visited her secretly night after night. [There,] **they hid themselves and exchanged love vows.** Despite this, she was feeling hopeless, and when the last moon of the night was still high in the sky, and the surface of the water was not overcast, [Niou no miya] stopped the boat and, referring to a place called Mandarin Orange Isle, he composed:

Though the years pass how can it change,

The heart that plights its troth at the point on Mandarin Orange Isle?

The parts underlined are taken verbatim from *Genji binkagami*, while the line in bold is a more erotic new part. Only the first few words at the beginning (introducing Ukifune) and the last line with the haiku are missing from the *Genji* digest. The parts not underlined display only small changes, such as ‘tokidoki’ in *Genji binkagami* that becomes ‘oriori’ in *Shikishi zukushi* and ‘[Niou no miya] like Kaoru’ that in *Genji binkagami* is ‘Kaoru no mane wo shite’ and in the *shunpon* is ‘Kaoru no kayoitamahishi gotoku’. Beside these small lexical differences, the text is the same, showing that *Shikishi zukushi* was based on *Genji binkagami*. As the part in bold shows, a slight increase in the sexual level can be acknowledged, though limited to the sentence ‘they hid themselves and exchanged love vows’. The vague reference to sex plays on the ambiguity of the word ‘chigiru’, as we have seen in other texts.





Figure 11 *Genji bunkagami-Ukifune* (vol.2-14v)

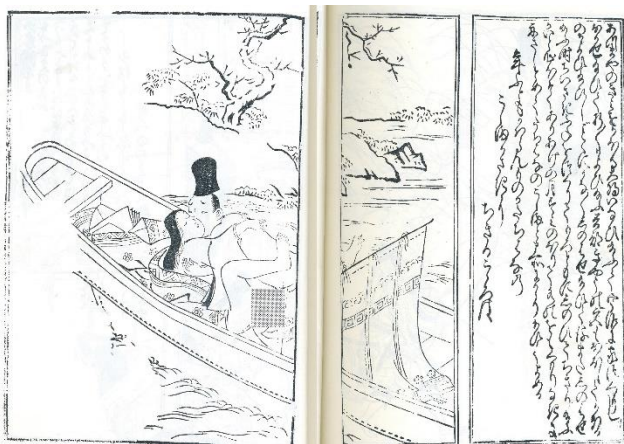


Figure 12 *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi-Ukifune* (plate 17)

If we compare the pictures of this section in *Genji bunkagami* and in *Shikishi zukushi*, the same moment is represented in two different ways. In both, we see Niyō no Miya and Ukifune together on a small boat. In *Genji bunkagami*, the two figures on the boat are in the left-lower part of the frame, and in the remaining space of the picture, a river and trees are inserted in the background. The couple on the boat sit close together, suggesting a high degree of intimacy as they chat, but do not touch each other, and much is left to the viewer's imagination. In *Shikishi zukushi*, imagination is not needed. This illustration seems to be the previous one made explicit, with a lovemaking scene on the boat. The couple having sex is now represented from a closer vantage point, so the viewer sees more and can take part in their physical intimacy. The background, dramatically reduced from the previous depiction, is limited to a tree and some rocks on the upper part. The picture in *Shikishi zukushi*, then, shows what could have happened later in *Genji bunkagami*. It moves from 'suggested' intimacy to straightforward sex.

Another section, 'Kagaribi', reads:

源氏鬘鏡	源氏色紙
かかり火（玉かつらのならひ）	第二三回
源氏玉かつらを御子にし給ふといへ共まことの御子ならねは御心の内には昔の御かたみにも見ならはやと思召て夏の夜の月なき頃少くもれるけしきにかかり火をともして御ことをしらへさせ給ふ其時の御歌に	源氏色をこのみ給ひしに、あまり御てうあいまして玉かつらを御子にし給ふといへどもまことの御子ならねば御ころのうちはむかしの御かたみにも見奉らばやとおぼしめしてなつの夜の月なきころすこしくもれるけしきにかかり火をともして御ことをしらべさせたまふ そのときの御うたに
かゝり火に立そふこひのけふりこそよにはたゝせぬほのほなりけり（俳句は略）	かがり火に立そふこひのけふりこそ世にはたゝせぬほのほなりけり

### Kagaribi (plate 23)

Since Genji loved the way of sensuality, he had so much affection towards Tamakazura. Although he adopted her, since she was not his real daughter, in his heart he thought he wanted to see the appearance of the woman who passed away (Yūgao), whom she reminded him of. So, on a moonless summer night, when bonfires were lit in a clouded landscape, he made her play the koto. The poem of that time is:

The smoke of passion that rises from the flares

Is a flame that never ceases

The text in *Shikishi zukushi* is as it was in *Genji binkagami*, except for a line added and the haiku cut at the end. Like the previous section, one sentence (the first) increases the erotic flavour, hinting at Prince Genji's sensual interest for Tamakatsura. This is achieved through the insertion of a word referring to sensual matters, *iro o konomu* (which also means sensuality, as shown previously).



Figure 13 *Genji binkagami*-Kagaribi (vol.2-2r)

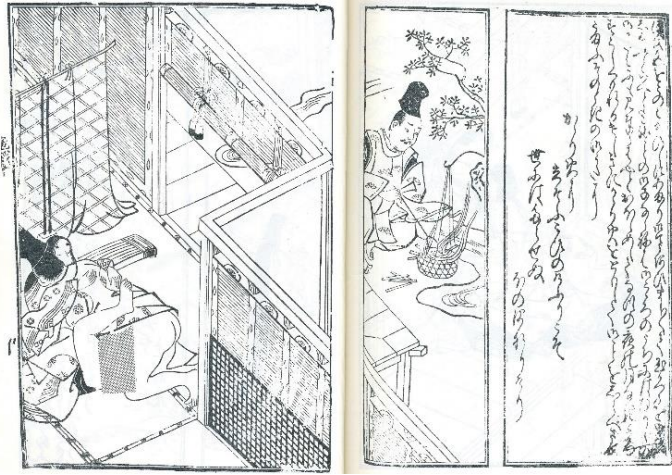


Figure 14 *Shikishi zukushi-Kagaribi* (pl.22)

What we saw in pictures in the Ukifune section also happens in Kagaribi. Again, the same situation is depicted, although in different ways (from implicit to explicit). The moment depicted is when Genji asks a servant to build a fire, which in *Genji binkagami* happens on the upper right. The lower left part of the illustration depicts the inner part of Tamakazura's room. Genji stands on one side composing the poem, while Tamakazura is depicted close to a folding screen, at some distance from him. In the picture of *Shikishi zukushi*, the man on the right also lights a fire, and on the left Genji and Tamakazura are in the inner part of a room. The difference here is that the couple is depicted having sex right in front of the folding screen. These pictures too give the impression that we are looking at the before and after of the same scene, where in the latter the couple succumbs to sensual passion.

The analysis of these two passages shows that *Genji binkagami* is the source-text of *Shikishi zukushi*. We see a progression, from the narration of a love story to a more erotic text (although not necessarily very sexually explicit) in *Shikishi zukushi*. The two double-page spreads confirm the impression that in *Shikishi zukushi* Moronobu depicts what was left implicit in *Genji binkagami*, sometimes adding sexual acts that never took place in the source-text, as in the case of Kagaribi. In sum, this process of moving from allusion to the more erotic did not need much transformation of the source-text, but rather some minor adjustments. This is also true for the pictures, which move from erotic allure to lovemaking.

## 2.2. *Genji kyasha makura*

A second work consisting entirely of episodes from *Genji monogatari* appeared around the same time. *Genji kyasha makura* 源氏きゃしゃ枕 (*Genji's Elegant Pillow*) is a one-volume

*ōbon* published in 1676.<sup>320</sup> The surmised artist is also Moronobu. In the half-folio preface, the compiler (probably Moronobu) refers to ‘this way’ (love) as common to all human beings, both aristocratic and lowborn. He designates *Genji monogatari* as ‘the treasure of our country’, ‘written by Murasaki Shikibu when she retired to the Ishiyama Temple’. This work is presented as an adaptation of the main ideas of *Genji monogatari*, depicted in ‘stylish dress’, hence the title ‘Genji’s Elegant Pillow’.<sup>321</sup> Besides the preface and the afterword, the extant book features 26 double-page spreads with illustrations covering three quarters of the space, and text covering the remaining quarter at the top of the page, as is typical in Moronobu’s *shunpon* and illustrated books. The stories seem to be listed in the order of the *Genji* chapters.<sup>322</sup>

The text is shorter than *Shikishi zukushi*, and only a small portion of text is inserted above the illustrations. An analysis of the text proves that *Genji binkagami* is also the source-text of this work. To highlight the characteristics of the text, I examine the same stories that I introduced from *Shikishi zukushi*, Ukifune and Kagaribi.

餐鏡・浮舟	きゃしゃ枕・浮舟
此巻うき舟といふ子あつまやの君（たち花の小島の色はかはらしをこのうき舟ぞ行来しられぬ）此君をかほるいなひてうちに至て時々かよふ 兵部卿の宮もおほしてかほるのまねをしてよる忍はせ給ひて後又忍はせ給ふにちいさき舟にのりていと心ほそく有明の月すみのほりて水のおもくもりなきに此橋の小嶋と申て御舟さしとめたれば <u>年ふ共かはらんものかたちはなの小嶋のさきにちぎる心は</u> との給ひし返歌そかし（俳句は略）	この君をかほるいざなひてうちにをきてときどきかよひ給ふに兵部卿の宮もおぼしてかほるのまねをしてよる忍ばせ給ひて <u>後又忍ばせ給ふにちいさき舟にのりてたがひに打とけ</u> 二世までもとたはふれ給ひて <u>年ふともかはらん物かたちはなのこじまのさきに契る心は</u>

#### Ukifune (plate 26)

This lady (Ukifune), was approached by Kaoru, and put in Uji where he would visit her sometimes. The Prince Minister of War (Niou no miya) also felt something for her, and like Kaoru, he would visit secretly at night. Later, to meet her secretly again, they took a small boat, where they confessed their feelings and flirted, pledging [love] for the next life.

Though the years pass how can it change,

The heart that plights its troth at the point on Mandarin Orange Isle?

<sup>320</sup> The only previous study about this book is in Lane 1978, also including a facsimile. As Lane says, this volume is incomplete; the first 4 leaves are missing and the first page is damaged (and so omitted in the facsimile). The colophon includes publisher’s postscript and signature Shōkai 松会 (Edo), and date. See Lane 1978.

<sup>321</sup> An English translation of this preface is in Izzard 2008, p. 34.

<sup>322</sup> The first episode is Suetsumuhana, followed by Hana-no-en, Sakaki, Hanachirusato, Akashi, Yomogiū, Matsukaze, Usugumo, Asagao, Tamakazura, Kagaribi and Nowaki, to the second part of *Genji monogatari* in Makibashira, Umegae, Fujinouraba, Kashiwagi, Yokobue, Suzumushi, Yūgiri, Niou no miya, Takekawa, Agemaki, Sawarabi, Yadorigi, Azumaya and Ukifune.

In *Genji kyasha makura* we see the abridgement of the source-text, which by contrast *Shikishi zukushi* makes slightly longer. As the underlined parts show, this episode is also taken *in toto* from *Genji binkagami*. It is worth noting here that we cannot identify the same slight linguistic changes we acknowledged in the previous work (*‘tokidoki’* becoming *‘oriori’* and the expression *‘Kaoru no mane wo shite’*), showing that *Genji binkagami* and not *Shikishi zukushi* is the source-text. Additionally, in this story the author also adds a line not seen in the *Genji* digest that hints at the couple’s relations. However, the story also differs in terms of the reference to sex used in *Shikishi zukushi*. In *Genji kyasha makura* this is rather unusual, since it happens only one other time, while in *Shikishi zukushi* it is the norm.



Figure 15 *Genji kyasha makura*-Ukifune (pl.26)

The situation depicted is the same as in *Shikishi zukushi*. This double-page spread also makes explicit that which was hinted at in the illustration of *Genji binkagami*, that is, what could have happened later between Niou no miya and Ukifune on the boat. Some small details in this picture look different to both *Genji binkagami* and *Shikishi zukushi*. The boat here is going in the other direction, so the landscape is reversed, and the background is on the left. Also, in this picture, trees share equal space with the boat and the lovers (similarly to *Binkagami*), while in *Shikishi zukushi* the love-making looks like a ‘close-up’. Despite this, sex is still prominent.

In *Genji kyasha makura*, the section of Kagaribi reads:



源氏鬘鏡・かかり火（玉かつらのならひ）	きやしや枕・篝火
<p>源氏玉かつらを御子にし給ふといへ共ま ことの御子ならねは御心の内には昔の御 かたみにも見ならはやと思召て夏の夜の 月なき頃少くもれるけしきにかかり火を ともして御ことをしらへさせ給ふ其時の 御歌に かゝり火に立そふこひのけふりこそよに はたゝせぬほのほなりけり（俳句は略）</p>	<p>源氏たまかつらを御子にし給ふといへ ども誠の御子ならねば御心の内にはむ かしの御かたみにも見奉らばやとおぼ して、夏のよの月なき頃 少くもれる けしきに篝火ともして 御琴をしらべ させたまひて かがり火に立そう恋の煙こそ よにはたえせぬほのほなりけり</p>

### Kagaribi (plate 12)

Genji adopted Tamakazura, but since she was not his real daughter, in his heart he thought he wanted to see the appearance of the woman who passed away (Yūgao), of whom she reminded him. So, on a moonless summer night, where bonfires were lit in a clouded landscape, he made her play the koto.

The smoke of passion that rises from the flares

Is a flame that never ceases

As is clear from the passage, the whole episode is taken verbatim (underlined above) from *Genji binkagami*. Only the haiku at the end in the source-text and the short sentence introducing the waka have been cut. The rest is left unchanged. This means that, in this story, the text was not charged with a more erotic flavour. *Genji kyasha makura*'s text is only a few words shorter than the already largely abridged *Genji binkagami*.



Figure 16 *Genji kyasha makura*-Kagaribi (pl.12)

In the illustration too, the servant lights the fire outside, while inside Genji and Tamakazura meet, as in *Genji binkagami*. But, in *Genji kyasha makura* the couple has sex, despite the lack of any reference to this in the text, as happened in *Shikishi zukushi*. The difference with *Shikishi zukushi* is that the couple is closer to the veranda (as in the picture of

*Genji binkagami*) and are naked. In this way, Moronobu does not reuse pictures previously created for *Shikishi zukushi* but creates new ones.

This analysis of the texts has shown a similar way of reworking the contents of *Genji binkagami*, adding allusive contents (as in *Shikishi zukushi*), or shortening the text further (as in *Genji kyasha makura*). In both cases, sexually explicit pictures are added. Pictures display similarities in the two *shunpon*, both making explicit what in *Genji binkagami* could only be inferred, or sometimes introducing lovemaking that was not mentioned in the source-text. *Shikishi zukushi* sticks more to the illustrations in *Genji binkagami*. In *Genji kyasha makura* the focus is more on the bodies and their depiction, especially the genitals, and this is probably why Moronobu created new illustrations and did not reuse those of the previous *shunpon*. Since the text in *Genji kyasha makura* is less allusive, we can suppose this visual choice was made to make it more erotic. The use of a text like *Genji binkagami* as the source-text is not casual. Moronobu had already illustrated the Edo version of *Genji binkagami* issued by the publisher Urokogataya. A comparison of *Genji binkagami* and *Genji Yamato-e kagami* (1685) shows that the latter also uses the text of *Genji binkagami* in the first volume, and pictures in many cases are reworkings of those in Moronobu's *Genji binkagami*. Moronobu reworked his own *Genji* illustrated book into new pictures, first for the *shunpon* and later for *Yamato-e kagami*. For all, the text used is that of *Genji binkagami*. This suggests that at that time this digest was probably a privileged way to acquire knowledge of *Genji monogatari*, because of the short text and the high text/pictures ratio. In other words, this digest was the easiest to read, because it conveyed a whole *Genji* chapter in just a few sentences.

### 3. *Genji shinasadame*: Recasting narrative knowledge of *Genji* stories

While *Ise Genji shikishi zukushi* and *Genji kyasha makura* used the text of *Genji binkagami* almost verbatim, the *shunpon* that will be analysed in this section uses knowledge of plots of *Genji* chapters in a different way.<sup>323</sup> *Genji shinasadame* 源氏思男貞女 (Estimation of *Genji*) appeared in 1829.<sup>324</sup> This work is a *hanshibon* in three volumes, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada. The author signed the preface as Tōen'mei Kagefude 東園明影筆, another pseudonym

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<sup>323</sup> Since the order in which these rewritings are listed is based on their relationship (from more to less related), it is not chronological. Being 18th century *Genji*-rewritings the furthest from the Heian *monogatari*, they will be examined in the last section of this chapter.

<sup>324</sup> I used the copy of *Genji shinasadame* currently preserved at the Ebi collection, and the transcription in Hayashi 2014, vol. 11.

of Rakugakian Kagefude 落書庵景筆, a pen-name used for three other *shunpon* that appeared between 1818 and 1830.<sup>325</sup>

*Genji shinasadame* is a collection of 14 stories (4 in the first book, 5 each in the second and third). Each story takes its title from the name of a female protagonist of *Genji monogatari*, to whom the episode is dedicated. All the stories are loosely related to *Genji monogatari*.<sup>326</sup> The layout is different from the 17th century *Genji*-inspired *shunpon*, since narrative texts and illustrations are not on the same plate. Pictures are interposed between each story. Stories cover on average 5 leaves each, plus the double-page spread picture with dialogues. The pictures, all double-page spreads and sexually explicit, have short dialogues inserted, that never take up more than a quarter of the whole surface. In 2 of the 14 episodes -Utsusemi, Hanachirusato- there is no text within the picture. In addition to dialogues, a waka from *Genji monogatari* is inserted separately in a gourd-shaped cartouche (figure 17).



Figure 17 *Genji shinasadame*-Gen no naishi (vo.3, 4r-3v)

In addition to this, there is a preface (1.5 folios), two double-page *kuchi-e* in book one, and a half-page *kuchi-e* in books two and three.<sup>327</sup> The half-page *kuchi-e* of the second book represents some writing implements, while that of the third depicts some shells that are probably a reference to the *Genji* shell-matching. The first *kuchi-e* is particularly interesting, because it is a *mitate* depiction of Murasaki as a high-class prostitute sitting at her desk. This *mitate* picture updates the classical depiction of Murasaki shikibu writing the Suma chapter at Ishiyamadera.

<sup>325</sup> Hayashi 2014 vol. 11, p. 133. In the afterword of the copy used by Hayashi for the transcription of *Genji shinasadame*, the date of publication and name of the publisher (Misujidō 三筋堂, probably a pseudonym) are recorded. Hayashi counted three editions of this work in Kunisada, p.252.

<sup>326</sup> The protagonists are: Wakamurasaki, Usugumo, Akashi, Aoi (book 1); Hana-no-en, Onna san, Suetsumuhana, Hanachirusato, Tamakazura (book 2); Utsusemi, Gen'naishi, Yūgao, Ukifune, Yūgiri (book 3).

<sup>327</sup> In the transcription of *Genji shinasadame* by Hayashi (Hayashi 2014, vol. 11), there is also another half-page *kuchi-e* at the beginning of book one (where it is written in large characters the Buddhist saying 色即是空, 'all is vanity').





Figure 18 *Genji shinasadame kuchi-e*



Figure 19 *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji vol.1 kuchi-e*

In *Genji shinasadame*, the background is remarkably reduced, being limited to the interior of what seems to be a room in a pleasure quarter, and there is no view of the moon and the lake. Rather than the author of *Genji monogatari* writing in a temple, in this picture Murasaki looks like a courtesan writing to a client, displaying a shift in her representation more suitable to an erotic text. The depiction of Murasaki in the act of writing *Genji monogatari* had become a trope already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (as also seen in the illustrations of Murasaki Shikibu in the chapter about *Meijo nasake kurabe*), but no such picture appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century *shunpon Shikishi zukushi* or *Genji kyasha makura*.<sup>328</sup> This picture reminds us of the second *kuchi-e* in *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 修紫田舎源氏 (A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji, from now on *Inaka Genji*, 1829-1842) published in the same year by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種

<sup>328</sup> An early example of this visual trope is the first illustration of *Jūjō Genji*, but examples are found throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in ukiyo-e prints, such as “The Five Virtues: Faith (Murasaki Shikibu)” 五常「信」(紫式部), 1767 by Suzuki Harunobu or in the guidebook for illustrations *Ehon shahō bukuro* 絵本写宝袋 (Illustrated Treasure Bag, 1720). For a detailed survey of the depictions of Murasaki shikibu in early-modern Japan, see Naito 2014.

彦 (1783-1842), where the ‘fraudulent Murasaki’ is depicted at the second floor of the stonemason’s shop (*ishiya*) in the act of writing the *gōkan*, a *mitate* of the conventional depiction of Murasaki Shikibu in earlier works.

Despite the reference to the *kuchi-e* of *Inaka Genji*, the *shunpon* does not follow the *gōkan* closely. Despite the two works appearing in the same year (*Inaka Genji* as a New Year publication, and *Genji shinasadame* as a Spring publication, so approximately two months later), *Genji shinasadame* does not reuse *Inaka Genji*’s pictures and text. Still, it is possible to argue that the publication of *Genji shinasadame* was stimulated by the publication of *Inaka Genji*, as before *Inaka Genji* no works inspired by *Genji monogatari* had been published for more than a century. In this regard, Hayashi suggests that the publication of *Genji shinasadame* was due to a business initiative of its publisher, who may have heard about the project of Tanehiko in advance and planned to exploit the same idea.<sup>329</sup> Without seeing Tanehiko’s text, Tōen’mei produced the *shunpon* using knowledge of the narratives of *Genji monogatari*, as we shall see. The similar pictures in the *kuchi-e* may highlight a connection with *Inaka Genji*, since the *mitate* depiction of Murasaki shikibu re-appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century only in *Inaka Genji*.

The preface creates a connection with *Genji monogatari*. It is a succession of names of chapters or characters of *Genji monogatari*, connected in such a forced manner that the meaning is sometimes hard to understand. This emphasis on *Genji* chapters’ names is needed to reinforce the connection with the Heian text. The stories pick up the most representative narrative parts, as actions to be retained in abridged versions of *Genji monogatari*. For the aim of this study, I have selected and translated a passage where the connection with *Genji monogatari* is clear: story 4 of book 1, ‘Aoi’ あふひ, which plays on the story of Aoi no Ue, the first wife of Genji who dies after giving birth to their son, due to being possessed by the spirit of Genji’s mistress Rokujō.

[The first five lines taken verbatim from the nō *Aoi no ue* are omitted here]

Woman: My darling, what shall we do with O-roku?

Man: That’s bothersome indeed.

W: Still, she’s so in love.

M: Gosh, she is so insistent that it’s annoying and unpleasant.

W: Forget all this.

M: Even if she’s a woman, evil-natured be hanged!

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<sup>329</sup> Unfortunately, this must stay in the realm of speculation since the real identity of the publisher Misujidō is not known to date.

W: That's true. They wrote the truth in the part of the song of the five men, that there's no life for a woman if she thinks about a man she liked as much as a man that she hates.<sup>330</sup>

M: If she thinks she hates it, then this way [becomes] particularly unbearable. Now that I think about it, a wife is surely something that we receive from Heaven. You never get tired of eating your wife every night, as [you don't] of the three meals.

W: Oh, I'm tired of hearing this mere consolation.

M: What? A mere consolation? But that's true!

Saying so, he gets closer, [getting] skin to skin. Their mouths meet - **chu chu chu - kissing and getting kissed, and with the penis now rigid - choi choi choi- he rubs it on the clitoris. So, the woman, starting to be impatient:**

**W: Ah, that's embarrassing. Stop playing around and put it inside! Come on, hurry up, hurry up!**

**M: I'm playing like this because if I put it inside already you will come soon.**

**W: Even so, it feels so good already. Oh, darling! If O-roku saw us now in this situation, I would probably get killed!**

M: Are you still talking about that woman? Just hearing that is annoying!

**He says so while putting it inside, pushing it hard or gently, so the woman loses self-control more than usual.**

**W: Oooh, what can I do, what can I do! Tonight is special for some reason! It's insanely good, good, I'm really going to die, I'm really going to die! Do that much harder on the upper part, harder!**

**M: Like this? This? It feels good, it feels good, right?**

**He moves his hips as if he were on a saddle.**

**W: Yes, yes! That's good, good! Oh, oh, oh, oh! For sure, for sure, you don't enjoy things like this when you sleep with someone else! Like that, that, that! Ah, ah, oh, oh!**

**Saying so, she reaches ecstasy and loses self-control, talking nonsense.**

[Another long part from *Aoi no ue* is omitted here]

A voice of a woman said so. The man is taken by surprise, and when he looks [at that], in the shadow of the light of the lamp, there is clearly a vivid reminder of the spirit of O-roku. Her graceful figure looks now completely withered, as the morning glory that has faded while waiting for the sunlight. It is exactly what is thought was the spirit of Rokujō no miyasudokoro, once upon a time, when she got lost in the shadow of the way of love, looking to pledge love to Genji when she scorched herself with the fireflies on the edge of a swamp.

This passage uses knowledge of the story in *Genji monogatari*, also referring to a nō play inspired by *Genji*. The two protagonists, a man and his wife, talk about the excessive jealousy of another woman, maybe a previous mistress of the husband. Her name is O-roku, a clear reference to Lady Rokujō. The dramatic relation between Rokujō and Genji, her jealousy

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<sup>330</sup> *Gonin otoko* refers to a series of kabuki where 5 men usually face several adversities together. I could not find the song/poem the woman mentions here.

and tormented love that turned her into a living spirit that killed Aoi no Ue, is playfully reversed into a lovemaking scene by the wife's comment: "If O-roku saw us now in this situation, I would probably get killed". This abrupt change in mode and contents is the point of humour. This story substitutes the death of Aoi from a refined *monogatari*, with love-talk between a married couple. It reverses the whole situation, since what the spirit witnesses is not the death of Aoi, but the ecstasy of the married couple. This substitution becomes more evident with the insertion of lines from the *nō Aoi no Ue*, which reinforces the connection with *Genji monogatari*, in case the reader could not decode the reference. Key to this comic element is the deviation from what is expected. Sex is part of this because it is never mentioned in *Genji monogatari*. This unexpected statement during intercourse must have sounded ironic to the knowledgeable reader, who could be reading this episode while overlapping it with the story in *Genji monogatari*. Humour, though, would be lost without some knowledge of easily recognizable situations in *Genji monogatari*. Since it uses well-known, evocative narrative parts, it is possible that Tōen'mei used a digest to compose *Genji shinasadame*. Closer in time there is a reprint of *Genji kokagami* in 1823, that could have provided some knowledge of *Genji monogatari* that is displayed in the *shunpon*.<sup>331</sup>

The picture depicts the last part of the story, when O-roku appears in front of the man while his wife is reaching orgasm.



Figure 20 *Genji shinasadame*-Aoi (vol.1, 16r-15v)

<sup>331</sup> A copy of *Genji kokagami* printed in 1824 is held at the Waseda Library collection. This text is written almost all in kana, and usually gives 6 or 7 folios to the explanation of the plot of each *Genji* chapter, adding one or two half-page illustrations. The use of this text by *Genji shinasadame* cannot be proved with certainty, but this is indeed the text closer in time that gives a complete summary of the most known features of each chapter. For example, the Wakamurasaki section (covering almost 8 folios in *Genji kokagami*) focuses on the first time Genji saw Murasaki in Kitayama with her aunt, the waka he sent her, and the episode of the pet sparrow released by Murasaki's companion Inuki. In this episode of *Genji shinasadame*, the same waka is inserted in the picture, and the episode centres around a young man visiting a girl at her aunt's place, and the escaped bird whose absence the girl laments.

As a counterpoint to the oblivious woman, the man is depicted as scared by this apparition. The dialogue within the illustration reads:

Woman: “I wonder why it is so good! It has been feeling so good that I’m not embarrassed nor do I care about what other people would think! Ah, there, please, please, come a little bit closer and let me cling to you. Oh, uh, what shall I do, it feels so good again! Ah, ah, uh, uh, uh, su, su, su, su!”

Man: “Aaaah! There is a suspicious figure behind the byōbu, and it seems to be the figure of a woman, it is certainly the reflection of O-roku! I don’t understand, this is strange!”

[The spirit there replies, reciting a part taken from the nō.]

The picture conveys some humorous elements that cannot be expressed in the text, because it depicts at the same time the spirit observing the intercourse with curiosity more than anger, the man overreacting to this, and the oblivious woman reaching orgasm. The waka on the upper left of the page is taken from the same section of *Genji monogatari*. The juxtaposition of this dynamic lovemaking scene with a waka from *Genji monogatari* and with the quotation from a noh makes the whole situation more incongruous (and so possibly humorous). Moreover, the summary of the text inserted within the picture also makes it enjoyable, without the need to read the main text.

Another episode using narratives of *Genji monogatari* is story two of the second book, ‘Onna-san’ 女三 (clearly a reference to the Third Princess). In this episode too the most representative narrative parts of the ‘Wakana’ section of *Genji monogatari* are reworked. The story of a secret love, as in the source-text, is transposed to the modern-day setting. The woman's name is Osan, and the man, Mōhei (a modern-day Kashiwagi), is a retainer of the *Kashiwa* house. The cat, a symbol of this episode in visual representations (see Fig. 22), is also in the story in *Genji shinasadame*. One day, Mōhei visits O-san, recalling when he caught a glimpse of her from the second floor of the warehouse while she was playing with her cat, as Kashiwagi saw the Third Princess from the outer blinds thanks to two cats. In the end, their lovemaking represents an explicit version of what happened between Kashiwagi and the Third Princess, but was never openly depicted in *Genji monogatari*. In this case too, a reader with a basic knowledge of the most emblematic elements of stories in *Genji monogatari* must have compared these shared features, and enjoyed this decoding.

In the picture, we see the lovemaking scene depicted.





Figure 21 *Genji shinasadame-Onna-san* (vol.2, 5r-4v)

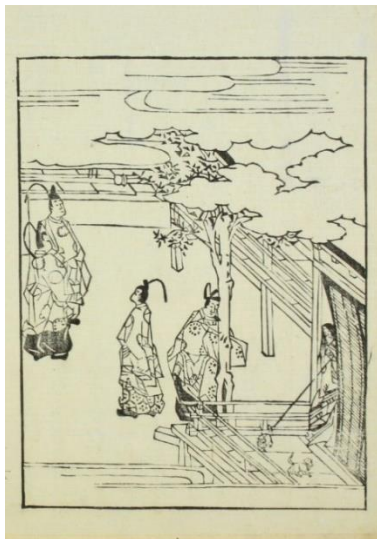


Figure 22 *Wakana Jūjō Genji*

The cat is still present, but this time witnessing the intercourse. The illustrations become humorous since the male cat, puzzled by the lovemaking, gets closer as it wants to see better. In the dialogue, O-san expresses her excitement, while Mōhei is concerned about the cat looking at them: “Oh, look at this calico cat, he is envious and came close to the pillow! Hey you, you are thinking that you’d love to join in this, huh? Oh, damn it, I can’t bear it anymore!” The shift in the figure of the cat, from the beginning of a secret, tragically-ending love in *Genji monogatari*, to the puzzled witness of intercourse, even being mocked by the man in the dialogue, deepens the degree of humour in *Genji shinasadame*. The insertion of the waka at the top of the picture, probably to make the scene recognisable, reinforces the incongruity between the refined source-text and the playful reworking of the *shunpon*.

A similar interaction of representative elements of stories of *Genji monogatari* and lovemaking unfolds in all the pictures of *Genji shinasadame*, usually matching the contents of

the text. Even though *Shikishi zukushi* and *Genji kyasha makura* also adapt well-known situations of chapters of *Genji monogatari*, the increase in sexual explicitness and humour, combined with the addition of dialogues in pictures, make *Genji shinasadame* a completely different reading experience.

#### 4. A Rustic Genji replacing Prince Genji: *shunpon* rewritings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

In the previous two sections, two works that reconfigure *Genji binkagami* verbatim and a text using knowledge of selected *Genji* stories (though its production might have been fuelled by the popularity of *Inaka Genji*) were analysed. Here, I examine texts that appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and seem to refer to *Genji monogatari*, but which actually use *Inaka Genji*. Therefore, the order of the investigation is not chronological, but based on the extent to which the texts engage with *Inaka Genji*. One aim is to investigate the connection with Tanehiko's work to show its influence on the erotic production (and partially what was retained of *Genji monogatari*). Another aim is to consider the effects created by increasing the level of sexual explicitness. As we shall see, these texts capitalise on the fame of *Inaka Genji* and its protagonist in different ways.

Shortly after the publication of *Genji shinasadame*, eight *shunpon* bearing *Genji monogatari* in their titles were published. Similarly to the circumstances of *Genji shinasadame*'s publication, the 'new popularity' of *Genji*-titles was probably a consequence of the publication of *Inaka Genji* by Ryūtei Tanehiko. This was one of the best-selling books of the Edo period, whose popularity was immediate and considerable.<sup>332</sup> It was so popular that many ukiyo-e prints were also inspired by its themes and protagonists. These prints are known as *Genji-e*.<sup>333</sup> In all these pictures, the protagonist of *Inaka Genji*, Mitsuuji, is always clearly identifiable thanks to his peculiar hairstyle. The first colour prints inspired by *Inaka Genji* appeared around 1833, and began to be published more extensively from 1834 onwards, when they were advertised at the end of the 11th *hen* of *Inaka Genji*. Their publication peaked after the second kabuki adaptation of *Inaka Genji* in 1851, and continued long after the Meiji Restoration, when they became more a symbol of the classical periods' aristocracy than a direct representation of Tanehiko's work.

The popularity of *Inaka Genji* is well known today. Its relationship with *Genji monogatari* has also been an object of debate among scholars, who often labelled the 19<sup>th</sup>-

<sup>332</sup> While in these years selling up to 7000 copies was considered a success for famous *gesaku* publications, sales of *Inaka Genji* have been estimated to be between 10.000 and 15.000 copies. See data about sales in Markus 1992, pp. 145-146.

<sup>333</sup> The same term can be extended to all pictures related to *Genji monogatari*, both as its illustrated versions or 'mitate' adaptations. About this definition, see Hayashi 1965.

century work as parody or adaptation (翻案).<sup>334</sup> The aim of this study is not to discuss the relation between *Genji monogatari* and *Inaka Genji*, but to look at the influence of *Inaka Genji* on the creation of ‘*Genji*-inspired’ *shunpon* during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and how this work was a suitable source-text for erotic rewritings. It is hard to affirm with certainty whether the average reader at the end of the Edo period could fully decode all the references to *Genji monogatari* in *Inaka Genji*. Indeed, it is not completely clear to what extent readers of the time enjoyed *Inaka Genji* as a transposition of *Genji monogatari* or as an independent text, though in my section on commentaries I supported the view that *Genji monogatari* in its entirety was not really known when *Inaka Genji* was published.<sup>335</sup> *Inaka Genji* features a new story, format and characters, but engages with the real *Genji monogatari* through several elements, as for instance in the picture of Murasaki shikibu and its *mitate* version, and in the playful list of works (in the third *hen*, mostly commentaries and vernacularisations of *Genji monogatari*) presented as the inspiration for the compilation of *Inaka Genji*, etc.<sup>336</sup> These elements are often used again in the *shunpon* versions also. In relation to the current state of literature, establishing whether the ‘*Genji*-inspired’ *shunpon* published after 1829 were or were not rewritings of the Heian text may give further thoughts to the debate about the reception of *Genji monogatari* and *Inaka Genji*.

#### 4.1. *Nise Murasaki Naniwa Genji*

The first work to reuse textual knowledge of *Inaka Genji* is *Nise Murasaki Naniwa Genji* 二勢紫浪花源氏 (Fraudulent Murasaki Naniwa Genji, 1837, hereafter *Naniwa Genji*). This *shunpon* is the result of a collaboration between the author Sanehiko 佐祢比古 (mimicking Tanehiko, probably playing on the word ‘*sane*’, clitoris) and Kunisada, who signed it Bukiyo Matahei 婦喜用又平.<sup>337</sup> The copy held at the Nichibunken collection is an *orihon* 折本 (folding book) in one volume. The folding book format suggests that this *shunpon* was a luxury product, also confirmed by the attention to detail and the quality of the printing. All the pictures (7

<sup>334</sup> Markus 1986, Emmerich 2013, Suzuki Shigezō in NKBD and the transcription of *Inaka Genji* in SNKBT.

<sup>335</sup> Emmerich’s stance is that readers were enjoying *Inaka Genji* without really knowing *Genji monogatari* (Emmerich 2013, p. 35). A similar stance can be seen in Markus, who lists ‘[t]he essential unfamiliarity of the story’ as ‘another obstacle for the author to overcome’ during the creation of his work. He gives factual examples of this, such as how Tanehiko considered it necessary to give detailed retellings of some episodes that were supposed to be largely superfluous for the reader knowledgeable about *Genji*. Ibid., pp. 140-141.

<sup>336</sup> Among these 18 works, 15 were identifiable: *Genji Teiyō* (Outline of *Genji*, 1432), *Genji kokagami*, *Jūjō Genji*, *Osana Genji*, *Genji binkagami*, *Kōhaku Genji*, *Hinazuru Genji*, *Wakagusa Genji*, *Fūryū Genji monogatari*, *Shinbashihime monogatari*, the plays *Genji Rokujōgayoi*, *Aoi no Ue*, *Kokiden Unowa no ubuya*, and *Haikai Genji*.

<sup>337</sup> There are only two extant copies of this work. I used the copy held at the Nichibunken database. Another copy (that I have not seen) is held at the Honolulu Museum of Fine Art. Bukiyo Matahei was certainly Kunisada’s penname, but Sanehiko might not be Tanehiko’s penname. Hayashi argues, based on the style of the text, that Sanehiko could be a pseudonym used by Ryūtei Senka. See Hayashi 1995, p. 202.



plates) are inserted at the beginning, and text (16 plates) follows later. 3 out of 7 pictures are non-explicit (the 2 *kuchi-e* and the first one). In *Naniwa Genji*, there is no text inserted within the pictures (the only caption is the name of the figures involved in lovemaking). The second *kuchi-e*, depicting a Heian lady under a waka from "Hanachirusato", is the only part recalling *Genji monogatari*.

In the one-sheet preface, the connection between *Naniwa Genji* and *Inaka Genji* is clearly stated and starts with a quotation from a passage in *Tsurezuregusa* ('if a man has no taste for lovemaking, one feels something terribly inadequate about him, as if he were a valuable winecup without a bottom').<sup>338</sup> Then it continues:

In these days, the tale titled *Inaka Genji*, telling the story of Mitsuuji, who is patterned after Prince Genji and incessantly meets women, has become an unequalled popular work. This book simply puts several sexual situations into good and evil pictures, so it has been titled *Naniwa Genji*.<sup>339</sup> [If you look [at it] together with the fascicle of *Nise Murasaki*,] it would be an enormous companion in the bed chamber, like being swayed by the wind of love.

The preface brings the signature 'the compiler Sanehiko, under a willow'. Hence, not only does the author intentionally use a penname recalling *Inaka Genji*'s author, he also affirms that this new work is inspired by the success of *Inaka Genji*, and that it turns parts of the *gōkan* into lovemaking. This is confirmed by the contents of the text. The text summarises the plot of *Inaka Genji* up to the 14<sup>th</sup> *hen*, under the subtitle 'The jewelled stick covered in dew that shines on the earth' (地に光る露の玉ぐき, where 'tsuyu no tamaguki' is playing on the expression 'tsuyu no tama', pearly dew).

### Summary of the plot of *Naniwa Genji*

[Introduction of the fictional setting – sheets 1-2] The shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa establishes his palace in Muromachi, with his consort Toyoshi no Mae, and the heir Yoshihisa. Despite this, Yoshimasa falls in love with Hanagiri, who gives birth to a beautiful son, Jirō no kimi, before dying prematurely. (*Inaka Genji-hen* 1).

[Jirō grows up beautiful - Sheet 3] At the age of 12 he has his coming-of-age ceremony, and gets the name Mitsuuji because of his radiant beauty features. (*Inaka Genji-hen* 2).

[All women in love with Mitsuuji – Sheets 4-5-6] Women dream of spending a night with him. A long conversation between the maids serving Hirugao, Kikyō and Kogiku, wishing

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<sup>338</sup> Section 3, translation in Keene 1998.

<sup>339</sup> *Naniwa no yoshiashi* is an expression that means 'good and evil', 'right and wrong'.

to sleep with Mitsuuji, and Hanagiri's attendant Sugibae is inserted. (All characters in *Inaka Genji*)

[Relationship with Fuji no Kata – Sheets 7-8-9] Mitsuuji arranges to transfer Inanoya, the 19-year-old sister of the shogunal deputy Otogawa Katsumoto, to Yoshimasa's service, to comfort him for the loss of Hanagiri, whom the young girl closely resembles. She takes the name of Fuji no Kata. (*Inaka Genji* -hen 6).

[New contents of *Naniwa Genji* –Sheets 10-11-12] Fuji no Kata realises she has some conflicting feelings towards Mitsuuji. He also feels something for her, due to her resemblance to his mother. One day, he enters her room. (*Inaka Genji* -hen 7).

**[Depiction of the intercourse - Sheets 13-14] Not in *Inaka Genji*.**

[Finale– Sheets 15-16] The intercourse was his dream. One night, a thief seizes the sword Kogarasumaru, one of the symbols of Ashikaga authority. Following this, Mitsuuji embarks on a lengthy quest to achieve the recovery of these relics. (*Inaka Genji*'s hen 3 includes the theft of the sword).

As the summary of the plot of *Naniwa Genji* shows, the main narrative comes from *Inaka Genji*. Each page of the *shunpon* summarises one or two volumes, making *Naniwa Genji* a sort of abridged version of the source-text, without big changes in the plot, except for the introduction of the intercourse between Mitsuuji and Fuji no Kata (which never happens in *Inaka Genji*). In the source-text, there was merely an apparently promiscuous situation, when Mitsuuji persuades Fuji no Kata to feign an incestuous advance in front of Yamana Sōzen, to have him drop his interest. This sole description of lovemaking is short (2 folios out of 16), but is described in detail. After penetration the description is:

Her back was shivering as waves surged on it. "Chey", her breath sounded like a voice full of excitement. "Like that, stick it in me! Push it to the back, firmly and without restraint! Yes, yes, harder there, harder! Ahhh, I can't stand it anymore! I give up!" she said, as she clung to Mitsuuji, holding him tightly as though she were trying to crush him. She was beside herself with pleasure, and lost control [...]

This is the description of Fuji no Kata's behaviour in bed. In the final part, it is said that, thanks to Mitsuuji's wonderful tool, she came repeatedly, and her pleasure is described with several metaphors. This ends as:

He was wakened from a temporary dream by the sound of the wind among the pines that sway the eaves, and looking transfixed at the inside of the room, he realised it was just a dream.

*Naniwa Genji* and *Inaka Genji* are also connected through pictures. For instance, the second *kuchi-e* depicts a modern-day Murasaki at her desk, similarly to *Inaka Genji*.



Figure 23 *Naniwa Genji* *kuchi-e*

Here, the modern-day Murasaki is not on the veranda, but inside, and the landscape has been moved to the folding screen behind her. The contemporary Murasaki is dressed as a commoner of the time, and on her left, we see the fascicles bonded in the way of printed books. Beside this, the position of the woman at the desk, and of the lamp in front of her, closely resemble those in the illustration of the ‘fraudulent Murasaki’ in *Inaka Genji*. Thus, this illustration of the author seems to be directly inspired by that in the *gōkan* (hence this is the second *kuchi-e* of Murasaki in a *shunpon* by Kunisada after that in *Genji shinasadame*).

In the following illustration, Mitsuuji is depicted in the act of talking through the folding screen with Fuji no Kata, who lies sensually in bed. A similar picture can be found in the second *hen* of *Inaka Genji*, where the two also talk through a standing screen.



Figure 14- *Naniwa Genji* (plate 4) / *Inaka Genji* (hen 2)

The position of Mitsuuji, the lamp behind him and the depiction of Fuji no Kata’s hairstyle are the same. Despite differences in some small details, the situation depicted and the

way the scene is illustrated show the connection between the *gōkan* and the *shunpon*. *Naniwa Genji* makes this situation sexually explicit in the following sheet, when Mitsuuji joins Fuji no Kata in bed and they have sex. Readers can finally see here the sensual Mitsuuji of *Inaka Genji* engaging with lovemaking.



Figure 15 *Naniwa Genji*-plate 5

The remaining 3 pictures are all sexually explicit, depicting sex between protagonists of *Inaka Genji*, with names put into the cartouche of 3 sheets out of 4 (we see a threesome between Mitsuuji, Murasaki and Karaginu, sex between Mitsuuji and Murasaki, and an unspecified act of lovemaking). In these 3 sexual pictures, kimono patterns and furniture are always beautifully depicted, and as in many mainstream *shunpon*, bodies are covered with clothes. Though these sexual scenes are not in the text of the *shunpon*, they all depict Mitsuuji having sex with protagonists of the *gōkan*, reinforcing the impression that they were expressly created to exploit the erotic tension that did not develop in the source-text.

#### 4.2. *Sumagoto*

A year after the publication of *Naniwa Genji*, in 1838, the author Sanehiko and illustrator Kunisada produced another *shunpon* referring to Genji in the title, *Sumagoto* 須磨琴 (The Koto of Suma). The word *Sumagoto* itself alludes to a musical instrument, but also refers to the koto that prompted Genji's first meeting with the Lady of Akashi during his exile in Suma. That said, no reference to *Genji monogatari* is found in this work which, like the previous one, is inspired by *Inaka Genji*. The complementary title makes this clear, since it is '*Inaka Genji*', though written with different characters for '*inaka*' (亥中). The work is divided into three

volumes, all lavishly illustrated.<sup>340</sup> The layout is slightly different from that of *Naniwa Genji* (pictures first and text later in two distinct parts), since one or two double-page illustrations are inserted between one or two double-pages of text. No explanatory text, dialogue or cartouche with names are inserted in pictures, indicating a tidy text-picture separation. Except for the first volume, which has a half-folio picture on the *mikaeshi* followed by a one-and-a-half folio preface, the other two volumes' *kuchi-e* are only half-page inscriptions of poems. The preface, which does not refer to *Inaka Genji*, sets expectations about what follows very clearly for a *shunpon*. This very rhetorical text is filled with puns and references to sex, as the translation of a part shows:

Anything can change in an unexpected way. A sparrow enters the sea and turns into a clam; a young girl enters the marital chamber and turns into a bride. Long ago, in the age of the gods, at the very beginning of the world, Izanagi and Izanami joined their nether regions and, oh my, that felt good! This is probably why, from the pillow talk of ancient times to the modern day, *hina* dolls are played with. [...] All these dolls, which normally come in pairs, represent marital and sexual harmony as the two pillars for any relationship. Both men and women are offered with sweet delight. [...] Whenever a man takes sight of a diamond-shaped rice cake, he fancies a girl and praises as masterpieces all the things, even the naughty ones, displayed on the shelves. On the shining surface of the golden folding screens, wild geese stretch out the shaft of their necks. The marital robes, with mandarin duck pattern, lay one on top of the other. Pillows are placed next to the bedding, with the *koto* placed horizontally and the *shamisen* vertically. [...] The breathing of the lovers is rough, as with those flowers arranged without delicacy. Hair dishevelled, wild like the willow branches. [...] <sup>341</sup>

Though the date of publication is only surmised, *Sumagoto* was published after *Naniwa Genji*. It gives the impression of being a sequel to *Naniwa Genji*, since the latter ends with the theft of Kogarasumaru and Mitsuuji leaving for Saga, and *Sumagoto* opens with Mitsuuji starting his search for the stolen paraphernalia, but we realise it is not since there is an overlapping of contents.

- Volume 1: Starts with Mitsuuji encountering Tasogare. Some details (and words used) show that this part is taken from *hen* 4 (part 2) of *Inaka Genji*. Some lines are taken verbatim (v1-r2).<sup>342</sup> **They have some sexual diversions**, until he leaves to meet the courtesan Akogi (*hen* 6). [**Their intercourse is described**] At the end, he leaves worried about what he has heard about Fuji no Kata.

<sup>340</sup> For this study I used the original held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This copy is superbly preserved, still retaining the original wooden box and paper sack decorated with a motif of shells painted as *Genji* matching shells.

<sup>341</sup> I am highly indebted for this translation and the transcription of the first volume to the reading group that took place in Cambridge in 2014/2015, and to my colleagues and supervisor who kindly granted me permission to use what the group produced.

<sup>342</sup> In *Sumagoto* (4v), 4 lines are taken verbatim from *Inaka Genji* *hen* 4.

- Volume 2: Mitsuuji sneaks into Fuji no Kata's chambers guided by the maidservant Karukaya, exactly as in *hen 7* of *Inaka Genji*. **The lovemaking** happens, though Fuji no Kata's moral concerns are described in a way similar to *Naniwa Genji*, and in the same way it ends with Mitsuuji's dream. After he leaves Akogi's place, Mitsuuji accepts the invitation of Mihara, an aged serving woman, with whom **he has intercourse** (*hen 11*). He spirits away a 12-year-old apprentice courtesan, Murasaki, and **approaches her** while she is sleeping (*14 hen*).
- Volume 3: **Intercourse** between Mitsuuji and Murasaki's maidservant Kotonoha is described, witnessed by Murasaki. This part is newly created, and is followed **by another remarkably modified part, a sex scene** between Inabunehime and Sōzen's son Munekiyo, somehow recalling *hen 8* (when Mitsuuji feigns an approach to Inabunehime to protect her from Munekiyo).

Hence, the whole *shunpon* proves to be a rewriting of *Inaka Genji*, though changes are introduced to the plot to dramatically increase sexual contents. The aim of rewriting *Inaka Genji* is to make explicit what was left implicit in the *gōkan*, as *Naniwa Genji* did before. Similarly, the depiction of lovemaking is both straightforward and very detailed, as it was in the previous work. The sexual degree increases because lovemaking scenes appear 2/3 times in each book, covering several leaves.

It would seem that this introduction of new sexual parts is the true focus of the text, and is more important than a coherent story. The plot of *Inaka Genji* is complicated and full of intricacies; that of *Naniwa Genji* is utterly simplified but follows the original. In *Sumagoto*, the original order and fictional frame of *Inaka Genji* are subordinated to lovemaking. Here, Mitsuuji jumps from sex act to sex act, from one woman to another, and this marks the biggest difference with *Naniwa Genji*. The story moves from the sexual depictions in *hen 4* with Tasogare, and later with Akogi, and then back to an earlier stage with Fuji no Kata. Then it follows the order from *hen 11* to *14*, but jumps again to *8* at the end. This lack of interest in the narrative order is strengthened by the weak connection between parts. For instance, in book 2 the situation shifts suddenly after the end of the dream with Fuji no Kata to the episode with Mihara, though the two affairs are not linked. The Mihara section is introduced only by the proposition: 'so there was an old woman called Mihara' (ここに水原といへる老女あり). Later, the author tells us that Mitsuuji had put Murasaki in a Western palace, but in the *shunpon* this character and situation have not been mentioned up to this point. This lack of detail presupposes a knowledge of the context of *Inaka Genji* that would make *Sumagoto's* narration sound more natural.



The *mitate* picture of Murasaki is not present here, and the only illustrated *kuchi-e* is at the beginning of the first book, where symbols of *Genji* chapters used for the incense ceremony (*Genji kōmon* 源氏香文) are depicted as Japanese joinery, maybe an allusion to sexual interaction.



Figure 16 *Sumagoto mikaeshi*

Conforming with the text, pictures in *Sumagoto* usually depict Mitsuuji's sexual liaisons with different women. Nevertheless, in some cases they do not follow the narration, looking like newly introduced lovemaking not related to the text. For example, two pictures in volume two have no equivalent in the text.

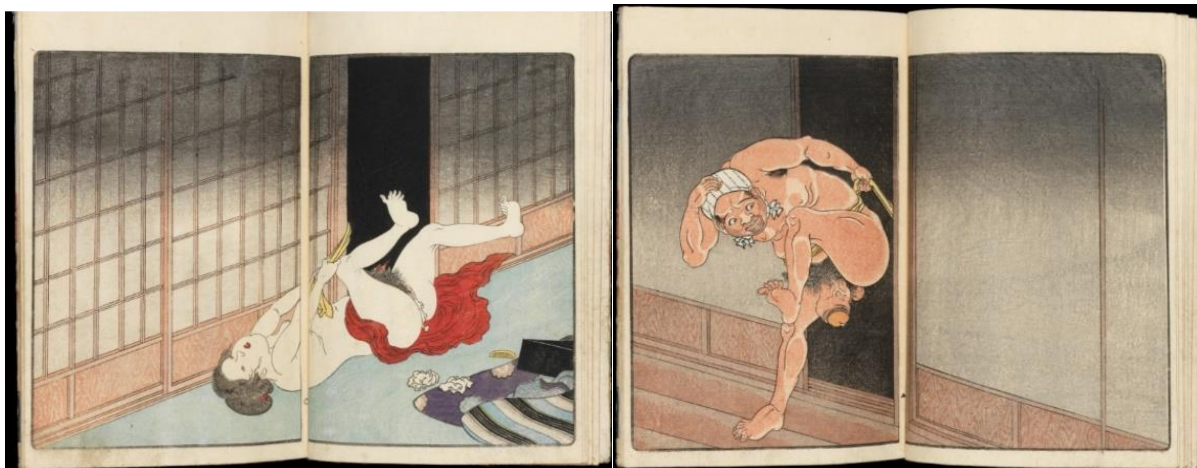


Figure 17 *Sumagoto* (6r-5v/8r-7v)

The man here is certainly not Mitsuuji, nor is the woman one of his lovers. The situation depicted is connected to no text either, but is certainly illustrated in an engaging way, because of its odd nature. A naked man tries to run away while a woman on the other side of the *shōji* is holding on to the end of his loincloth in order to keep him from leaving her. The woman is depicted before the man, and with no textual explanation, readers must have wondered what the situation implied. Thus, we may guess that these pictures are here to stimulate readers' interest.

Something similar happens in a double-page spread in book 3.

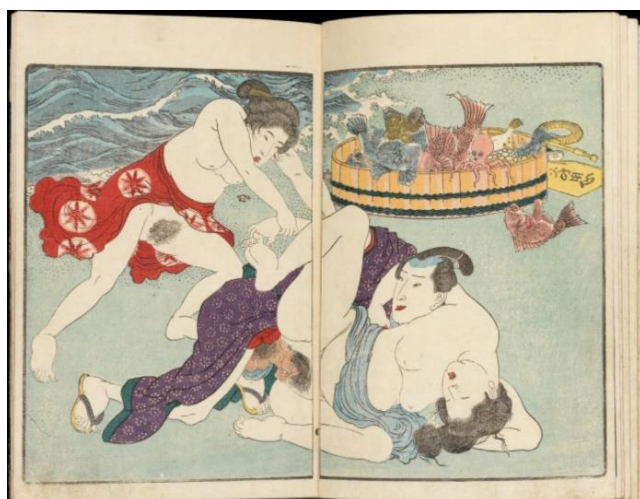


Figure 18 *Sumagoto* (5r-4v)

All the characters involved in this lovemaking scene are dressed as fishermen, as confirmed by the location, a beach, and the basket full of fish behind them. No such situation is narrated in the text, but it may be a link to the *gōkan*, since the covers of *Inaka Genji hen* 17-18-19 depict fisherwomen and a basket of fish as seen in this image.<sup>343</sup> This way, then, it is possible to make *Sumagoto* more enjoyable, while pleasing readers of *Inaka Genji* with the reference to the *gōkan*.

A closer look at contents and the relationship between *Inaka Genji* and these two *shunpon* shows that they are directly intertextually connected to Tanehiko's work. Both works were produced under the penname Sanehiko, probably the same author.<sup>344</sup> We see here a transition from the erotic of *Inaka Genji* to the explicit of the *shunpon*. Sex is introduced as the epilogue of what was not described but hinted at in the source-text. *Sumagoto* features more sexual scenes and is more explicit than *Naniwa Genji*, where we have only one lovemaking depiction. In *Sumagoto*, readers' knowledge of *Inaka Genji* played an important role, since there is no introduction of the characters and no chronological order to the story. This suggests that readers aware of the story of the *gōkan* would have followed the unfolding of the story more easily in this *shunpon*. The image-text proportion is also slightly different. In *Naniwa Genji*, the text, more precise in adherence to *Inaka Genji* and less explicit, takes more space than pictures. In *Sumagoto*, the picture-text proportion is roughly equal. This, combined with

<sup>343</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Tinios for pointing out this link to *Inaka Genji*.

<sup>344</sup> Since the author of both works uses the same narrative strategy (a dream) to substitute the ambiguous relationship between Mitsuuji and Fuji no Kata with explicit sex. On top of this, I found some similarities in the calligraphy of the prefaces, that could point to the same *hanshita*.



the greater rate of explicitness in the text, makes *Sumagoto* more sex-centred, and thus closer to ‘pornographic’.<sup>345</sup>

#### 4.3. *Enshi Gojūyōjō*

There are other possible intertextual relationships not necessarily inspired by the narrative plot of *Inaka Genji*, as three other *shunpon* show. The first example is *Enshi Gojūyōjō* 艶紫娛拾餘帖 (Amorous Murasaki Finds Pleasure in Fifty-some Chapters), published in 1835. This work is a lavishly produced *ōhon* in three volumes, also illustrated by Kunisada and allegedly attributed to Tanehiko.<sup>346</sup> The pseudonym Kinseidō as the owner of the blocks refers to the big publisher Kinkōdō Kikuya Saburō, famous for *ninjōbon* and who also published at least two other *Genji*-related *shunpon*.<sup>347</sup>

*Enshi Gojūyōjō* creates expectation of an intertextual connection with *Genji monogatari* from the outset. Not only does the title play on the fifty-four chapters of *Genji monogatari*, the outstanding cover also reproduces a pattern of symbols of *Genji kōmon* in blue and golden leaf. The *mikaeshi* (stating the title, illustrator and publisher’s names) is followed by a preface in Chinese (on an indigo base 藍摺).<sup>348</sup> The insertion of calligraphy and a Chinese preface in a *shunpon* already tells of the luxurious nature of *Enshi Gojūyōjō*. The following two-folio preface by Tanehiko is also richly embellished, being written in fine calligraphy on a wave-patterned background progressing from blue to purple.

The first *kuchi-e* represents Murasaki at her desk in a traditional way, with the moon shining at her back. Murasaki is dressed in Heian period guise and sits in front of some scrolls and an ink box.

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<sup>345</sup> Emmerich justifies the existence of *shunpon* featuring Mitsuiji, such as *Sumagoto*, because of the extent of the notoriety of Mitsuiji’s erotic allure. Emmerich 2013, pp. 85-86

<sup>346</sup> I had access to two extant copies of this work, one held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the other at Nichibunken, both available online. The author signs the preface as Mitsuiji 光清, a combination of pseudonyms used by Tanehiko. Hayashi confirms that the style and language of the text can be produced by Tanehiko only. See Hayashi 2014, vol. 11, p. 105.

<sup>347</sup> *Azuma Genji* and *Yoshiwara Genji*. Data about the publisher in Chiji 1973, p. 220. Unfortunately, I could not access any extant copy.

<sup>348</sup> The calligraphy is by the famous master Nakane Hansen 中根半仙, while the Chinese preface is by the renowned Confucian scholar Tōjō Kindai 東条琴台.



Figure 19 *Enshi Gojūyōjō kuchi-e*

Though previously in *Inaka Genji* and the *shunpon Genji shinasadame* (and two years after in *Naniwa Genji*) the technique of *mitate* was used, this picture sticks to the traditional depiction of Murasaki at Ishiyamadera.<sup>349</sup>



Figure 20 *Enshi Gojūyōjō second kuchi-e*

The second *kuchi-e* depicts a group of women, dressed like courtesans, absorbed in conversation in front of some scrolls. On top, we find two waka (from the Tokonatsu and Utsusemi chapters in *Genji monogatari*) and a poem in Chinese. The women seem to be re-enacting the evaluation of women by Genji during a rainy night in the Hahakigi chapter, as also indicated by a caption on the lamp (時世品さだめ). Up to this point, illustrations still play on the relation with *Genji monogatari*.

<sup>349</sup> A copy of this *kuchi-e*, probably taken from a copy of the book, was also sold independently. Since it looks like a conventional picture depicting Murasaki Shikibu, it was probably easier to sell it openly. This copy of the *kuchi-e* (with the provisional title of “Murasaki holding her brush” 筆を持つ紫式部) is in the Waseda Library collection.

The second preface in Japanese, inserted between the Chinese one and the illustration of Murasaki, further reinforces this expectation.

[...] The monogatari of the past had as their purport the relations between men and women. Among them, since *Genji monogatari*'s excellent writing was composed as deeply devoted to human feelings, it describes in great detail several [aspects] about people in love: some interesting, some sad, some reproachful, and some laughable. It thoroughly shows the feeling of love.

Nevertheless, this *monogatari* must be extremely hard to read and awkward for those who do not know at all the language of that time. Today, this book [wants to] express the elegance of the *monogatari* intentionally writing it in the manner of 'reclining pictures' (偃息図の絵). Starting from the calm and nobility of Murasaki no Ue and the Lady of Akashi's high-minded modesty, [moving] to the manner of showing joy of Aoi no Ue, the twisted feelings of Lady Rokujō, the gentleness of Hana chirusato, the frivolousness of Nokiba-no-ogi, and the unforgettably coquettish Gen-no-naishi, [this book] depicts the characteristics of all the women of the world in a modern style (今様の姿). So, after opening this book once, there is no one whose heart will not be moved.

[...] In the first place, it is considered a shallow view to associate *Genji monogatari* with an argumentative text for Confucianism and Buddhism. Still, there is also the opinion that it is not all bad, since it can be taken as a real admonition for both ways, so isn't it possible to say that it can also be a warning to sensuality?

In this preface, *Genji monogatari* is the only text quoted as the inspiration for *Enshi gojūyōjō*. Particularly, the author not only cites the traditional rhetoric of *Genji monogatari* as an instructive Buddhist/Confucian text, but also as a collection of various love stories and female types. According to this preface, *Genji monogatari* was already hard to read because of its language at that time, so *Enshi gojūyōjō* is presented as a work that wants to convey the appeal of the Heian work in modern terms, expressing the content of *Genji monogatari* through *shunga* (*osokuzu-e*, 'reclining pictures').

The expectation given about *Genji monogatari* up to this point is later betrayed. Except for the two *kuchi-e*, no other picture makes reference to the Heian *monogatari*. Pictures inspired by *Genji monogatari* were probably introduced merely as a way to make the *shunpon* more elegant (as *Genji monogatari* was considered as the symbol of the Heian court). On the contrary, in *Enshi gojūyōjō*, 7 illustrations out of 26 (almost a third, 24 are double-page spreads plus 2 half-folio *kuchi-e* in volume 2 and 3) are directly taken from *Inaka Genji*, with some carefully-devised minor deviations. 15 of these 26 illustrations depict lovemaking (5 pictures of the 7 taken from *Inaka Genji* can be found among the 11 non-sexually explicit ones).<sup>350</sup> The

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<sup>350</sup> About pictures reused in *Enshi gojūyōjō*, see Chiji 1973.

text/picture relationship seems to be balanced, with all pictures grouped at the beginning (slightly more than text: 10/6.5 in vol. 1, 7.5/6 in vol. 2, 7.5/5 in vol. 3).

Pictures are taken from *hen* 2 to 12 of *Inaka Genji*, which in fact appeared in 1834, a year before the publication of this *shunpon*. The following examples from book 1 show how pictures are reworked.



Figure 21 *Inaka Genji-hen 2 / Enshi Gojūyōjō* (vol.1, plate 6)



Figure 22 *Enshi Gojūyōjō* (plate 7)

The first picture comes from *hen* 2 of *Inaka Genji*, representing Mitsuuji and Fuji no Kata at Hitomaru Shrine. The scene in the *shunpon* closely follows the *gōkan* illustration. The figures of the man and the woman are inverted in the *shunpon*, but the woman is in the same position, the hairstyle and drapery of the kimono identical. Indeed, in both pictures the curtain of Hitomaru Shrine is clearly visible.<sup>351</sup> The increase in sexual content is created in the following illustration, where the same couple, as is clear by the clothes, has sex (again, an ‘evolution’ of what happened after the scene in the *gōkan*).

In the dialogue, there is no direct reference to Mitsuuji or Fuji no kata, and the dialogue is reduced to a conversation between unspecified characters (for instance, in book one, 3

<sup>351</sup> This scene must have been iconic at the time, since I found in the Waseda university library collection a print triptych by Kunisada depicting almost the same scene of *Inaka Genji*.



pictures out of 8 do not have dialogues). In total, 3/5 of pictures include dialogues (15 out of 25). The function of the dialogues varies, in most cases clarifying the relation between the characters, or adding spicy details (like the man commenting on the woman's genitalia, the woman telling the man what to do, etc).<sup>352</sup> All the dialogues within pictures are unconnected to the content of *Inaka Genji*.



Figure 23 *Inaka Genji*-hen 7/ *Enshi Gojūyōjō* (vol.2, pl.4)



Figure 24 *Enshi Gojūyōjō* (pl.5)

As the pictures above demonstrate, Kunisada reused illustrations from *Inaka Genji* without modifying the background and some details, such as the furniture. In the following picture, the same characters are depicted again in a sexually charged situation, the man touching the woman's genitalia (this scene too plays partially on an illustration in *Inaka Genji*, also hen 7).

Another example is in book 3.

<sup>352</sup> There are only 2 exceptions, a romantic dialogue and one moderately humorous.



Figure 25 *Inaka Genji-hen 12/ Enshi Gojūyōjō* (vol.3, pl.7)

In this picture, we see a woman bumping into a couple having sex under some clothes. The lack of dialogue does not provide us with any context, but in the source-text this was in *hen 12*. In the *gōkan*, Mitsuuji is discovered by Akogi after meeting Katsuragi again. In the *shunpon*, the character on the kimono who made clear her identity has been removed, and the scene is only adapted to lovemaking between an undefined couple, as also happened in the previous two examples from *Inaka Genji*. The shrewd way in which Kunisada makes the source-text explicit is interesting, by adding a picture with what happened after, or adding a third figure. Clearly, we move from implicit to explicit, but without modifying too much the pictures of *Inaka Genji*, so the keen and wealthy fans of the *gōkan* who could afford this *shunpon* would enjoy it as an erotic spin-off of their beloved work. In the sexually explicit pictures inspired by *Inaka Genji* above, the characters are depicted almost in the same situation and with the same background, but changing a previous scene through small adjustments into a bawdy one. The man is always depicted as Mitsuuji, probably to show his lovemaking, as readers wanted.

Though so many pictures follow closely those in *Inaka Genji*, the text inserted at the end of each volume is surprisingly disconnected from the *gōkan*. Indeed, the text is not a narration, but a collection of instructions, as in a sex manual. The three volumes cover different themes, and convey sexual education. The first volume (moon 月), starts with an introduction in an ornate style. This richly adorned language has been considered by previous scholars as proof of Tanehiko's authorship.<sup>353</sup> At the end of the second folio of text, the author openly says: "I took my inkstone before I fell asleep, and wrote down an outline of secret techniques of sexual passion (ねられぬままに硯引よせて色道の奥儀あらましをかいつけぬ)". As the term *ōgi* ('secret teaching') suggests, after this sentence the part about sexual health precepts starts.

<sup>353</sup> Hayashi 2014, vol. 11.

The major theme of this volume is the first intercourse of the newly-married, and the text explains what happens before the first night, and what the man should do to make the first intercourse better. The second volume (snow 雪) provides further knowledge about the expedients needed for a happy marriage and a satisfactory sex life. For this, the achievement of pleasure for women too is essential. The main topic discussed by three men is the practice of *hangayoi* 半通, a form of marriage where the wife splits her time between her husband and her parents. The second part is dedicated to a description of the sexual organ of a good wife. Since men must also be careful not to ejaculate too many times, this being detrimental for their health, the last folio explains a secret technique (*hiden*) to prevent ejaculating. The third book (flower 花), is dedicated to pregnancy. It is stated what to avoid after getting pregnant, so as not to harm the baby. The practical advice is very specific, suggesting how many times a week sex is healthy, which positions work better, etc. After the birth, it is taught that the couple should refrain from sex for a while. In the last part, another secret teaching to tighten the vagina that has become wider after childbirth is revealed.

The themes of this text are those common in *shinansho*, such as how to ejaculate (in *yuki*), how a virgin can recover from pain when meeting a man (in *tsuki*), how to make the vagina narrower (in *hana*), etc.<sup>354</sup> Terms too are taught, as when in book one the first intercourse (*niimakura* 新枕), is introduced, and other synonyms are listed, such as *hatsudoko* (初床), *mizuagedoko* (水揚床), *arabachi* (新開), *neirazu no ara* (寝入らずのあら). In the last half-folio of book 3, after explaining how many times men and women should reach orgasm, the author adds: ‘This is the most important health-care practice’ (男女の養生此上なし).

The language used confirms its educational nature. Imperative forms and commands are used throughout the work, and seem to be addressed to men. For instance, when describing what is better to do or avoid during the first night, there is the advice ‘don’t thrust yourself from the beginning! はじめより割り込むべからず’ ... make her feel at ease about the future telling her you are married now, and your relationship has been approved by the gods 夫婦の事神仏のゆるし給ふ中なれば、行末まで安心する事など語るべき. From this bed-talk, you can start to approach her, but don’t be rough! この寝物語のうちよりそろそろと割り込みて手あらくすることなかれ.’ The use of expressions such as ‘*beki*’, ‘*bekarazu*’ or ‘*nakare*’ confirms that the text of *Enshi gojūyōjō* is a manual, and that it was addressed to men, since they are used for men’s acts. A few other expressions exclude the possibility that the text was aimed at women, since we find expressions that show a male perspective, such as ‘women are extremely sinful 世に女

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<sup>354</sup> Similar themes can be seen in *shinansho* like *Kōshoku tabi makura*, *Kōshoku kinmōzui*.

ほど罪ふかし’ (hana, folio 2), or ‘after the first childbirth, the flavour of the vagina is really unsurpassed’ 初産してより其後は玉門の風味こそ世にすぐれたるものとなん (hana, folio 4). Hence, both the instructions provided and the perspective indicate a male readership. If it is true that women were the keenest *Inaka Genji* readers, this work could have been intended for a wide readership, providing women with illustrations taken from the *gōkan*, and men with a useful sex manual in the text.

#### 4.4. *Ukiyo Genji gojūyōjō*

After *Enshi gojūyōjō*, *Naniwa Genji* and *Sumagoto*, the connection between *Inaka Genji* and following *shunpon* grew weaker. A good example of a feeble tie with *Inaka Genji* is found in *Ukiyo Genji gojūyōjō* 浮世源氏五十四帖 (Fifty-Four Chapters of Floating World Genji, ca.1861-1864, from now on *Ukiyo Genji*).<sup>355</sup> *Ukiyo Genji* is a *hanshibon* in three volumes. As with the previous works analysed, this *shunpon* also represents the height of the finest publishing techniques. The author signed the preface as Insuitei 淫水亭, which could be the pseudonym used in *shunpon* by both Ryūsutei Tanekiyo 柳水亭種清 (1823-1907) or Koikawa Shōzan 恋川笑山.<sup>356</sup> The surmised illustrator is Utagawa Kunimaro 歌川国麿.<sup>357</sup>

All three volumes start with a *mikaeshi* featuring the illustration of tools and instruments (respectively fans, a flute, and a biwa) under the title and a waka. In the first volume, a two-folio preface follows. The first *kuchi-e* displays people dressed in Heian period fashion, seemingly inspired by courtly literature. Pictures of *Ukiyo Genji* have a rather complex design. Surrounded by a *Genji-kōmon* patterned frame, they all feature a main lovemaking scene, a small illustration inscribed in a small scroll inspired by traditional representations of a chapter in *Genji monogatari* at the top corner, stating the title of the chapter, and dialogues. The illustrations, all sexually explicit, are grouped at the beginning of each volume. In total, the image-text proportion shows a predominance of text (14 folios of text and 8.5 of pictures in volume one, 13 folios and 6.5 in volume two, and 9 folios and 6.5 in volume three).

Although not concerned with sexual matters, the preface presents this work as a reworking of all the chapters of *Genji monogatari*:

<sup>355</sup> I used two copies for this study. One is held at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies and available online, the other one at the Urakami Mitsuru collection in Tokyo.

<sup>356</sup> The name Insuitei appears in a remarkable number of *shunpon* published in the early 1860s. According to the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (where another copy of *Ukiyo Genji* is held), Insuitei stands for Ryūsutei, while the database at Nichibunken points to Shōzan. Ryūsutei was a relatively popular author of kabuki scripts and *gōkan*, who also produced a noteworthy amount of *shunpon*. Judging from their titles, Ryūsutei had a penchant for *shunpon* rewritings of earlier literature, such as *Kaiin suikōden* 快淫水好伝, *Hyakunin issu* and other two possibly *Genji*-related *shunpon*, *Enshoku hiina Genji* 艶色雛源氏 and *Enshoku futaba Genji* 艶色二葉源氏 (not identified). Shōzan is mostly associated with *shunpon* only.

<sup>357</sup> See Shirakura 2007.



In the first place, *Genji monogatari* is a famous literary composition by Murasaki Shikibu, and now and in the past, it is loved to a point where no other writing can be compared. For this reason, as the pioneer of this way, it has a few things that are hard to comprehend, so several annotated versions have appeared. Among these, there are *Kakai* (*Kakaishō*), *Myōjō* (*Myōjōshō*), *Mōshin* (*Mōshinshō*), *Mingō* [*nisso*], [*Genji*] *Ben'in* (*ben'inshō*), *Mansui* [*ichiro*], *Kogetsu* (*Kogetsushō*). In addition, there are *Jūjō* [*Genji*], *Osana Genji*, [*Shibun*] *Ama no saezuri*, [*Genji monogatari*] *shinobugusa*, *Genji monogatari teiyō*, *Binkagami*, *Kokagami*, *Kusa* (?) *Shinhashihime* [*monogatari*]. Among *noh*, there are *Yūgao* and *Genji kuyō*, among *haikai* books there is *Haikai Genji*. Hachimonjiya produced *Kōhaku* and *Unazuru* [*Genji*], and as *jōruri* there are *Rokujōgayoi* and *Kokiden Unowa no ubuya*. As a *kusazōshi*, Nise Murasaki [*Inaka Genji*] is a light-novel (*gesaku*) that recently appeared, but it has a great influence on the public, and several [works] were taken from it. Of this kind of illustrated book [like *Ukiyo Genji*], after the three-pillow book *Kagetsushō* was recently published, Tōen'mei's *Shinasadame* [also came out].<sup>358</sup> They all bear 'Genji' in their titles and are designed to be made up by (*Genji*) chapters' names, but are only a small part of that *monogatari*, and none of them exceeds ten or something chapters. Thus, the publisher Kirakudō complained that, among the remarkable number of volumes inspired by *Genji monogatari* (源氏に寄て成し書), none has all the chapters except for the three-pillow book [*Kagetsushō*] that is complete. He recently thought that. I myself also thought it indeed true, and complying with his request, I took my brush. In the previous set, I have already compiled 27 chapters from Kiritsubo to Kagaribi. In this sequel, I have grouped all these examples of amusing fictional stories (笑話の根なしごと) from Nowaki to the Uji chapters and created this draft. When I sent it to the publisher it was a very cold dusk of last winter, but the enthusiastic publisher did not mind the cold, and this so-called Kirakudō immediately started to eagerly produce the woodblocks. From a cold morning in Rokkenchō, some of the finest small knives showed the wisdom acquired through years, and shortly they carved and printed, and a beautiful book [appeared].

After listing famous annotated versions and commentaries of *Genji monogatari*, *Inaka Genji* is mentioned as an influential work, and the above-analysed *Shinasadame* and an unspecified *Kagetsushō* (the only known *shunpon* titled *Genji kagetsushō* was published in 1769 and will be analysed in the next section) are listed among previous *shunpon* versions. We understand through this preface that the publication of this work is due mostly to editorial interest, namely the will of Kirakudō to publish a complete *shunpon* version of all the chapters' titles of *Genji monogatari*. So, this *shunpon* was expressly created as requested by the publisher, who chose the theme with a clear selling purpose in mind. The importance of the reference to *Inaka Genji* in this preface is due to the straightforward acknowledgement of this work as influential and a stimulus for other works (also *shunpon*).

<sup>358</sup> This *Kagetsushō* may be referring to *Kagetsu Genji*, which will be analysed in the next section. In fact, this work appeared at the end of the Edo period (as also *Ukiyo Genji*), and covers all the chapters of *Genji monogatari*. It is not clear why it is referred to as the "three-pillow Genji".

The connection with *Genji monogatari* is merely suggested by the preface. *Ukiyo Genji*'s text consists of 27 distinct stories, 9 for each volume. Stories are titled after *Genji* chapters, from Nowaki up to the last one, Yume no Ukibashi, and it is stated in the preface that the extant *Ukiyo Genji* is the second part of a series. The connection with *Genji monogatari* is limited to section titles, and it sticks to the use of names of protagonists or places. For instance, sometimes the woman protagonist of a story is named after a chapter title (such as Nowaki and Fujibakama - volume 1- or Agemaki - volume 3), or there is a reference in the story to an object alluding to the title, as in the column where a girl leaves a message to her lover in Makibashira (vol. 1), the place where a couple has sex in Fuji no uraba (behind the end leaves of a wisteria, vol. 1).

An intertextual connection with *Inaka Genji*, though present, is remarkably weaker than in the previous cases. The protagonist of *Inaka Genji*, Mitsuuji, reappears in 4 stories out of 27 (the 3 first stories in vol. one and story 1 in vol. 2). Otherwise, the protagonists of the other stories are not taken from *Inaka Genji*, and sometimes their names are not even stated, being introduced only as a 'young man', a 'young woman', etc. (with a few exceptions). This is probably due to the strong, sexually explicit nature of the stories. Detailed sexual depictions cover almost all the narration, with only a very short introduction of the situation that generated the sexual intercourse.<sup>359</sup> Sex is prominent in stories featuring Mitsuuji too. As an example of the way in which the character of Mitsuuji is reused, and of the role of sexually explicit depictions, here we summarise 'Miyuki'.

In this story, sex is the core. Miyuki covers a total of 34 lines. The first 10 lines introduce the situation. One day in late winter, Mitsuuji decides to go on a day-trip to Arashiyama (hence the title Miyuki -imperial visit), where he has a banquet with his companions. When they leave to go to the nearby Ōi river, Mitsuuji, bored, asks for someone's company. Among the servants, a young woman called Oshio steps up. As soon as line 11, Mitsuuji clutches her, and intercourse follows shortly thereafter. Its description goes from line 11 to 34, encompassing three-quarters of the total story. In brief, the very detailed account of the intercourse starts with Oshio's enthusiastic reaction (expressed in terms of lubrication) to Mitsuuji's approach, and continues with the intercourse. The highlight of this episode is the use of fans. Already extremely aroused, Mitsuuji throws a fan in the river, focusing on its floating to avoid ejaculation through this distraction. Later, very close to ecstasy again, he

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<sup>359</sup> For instance, in story 1 of volume one (Nowaki) the sexual depiction covers 2 folios up to leave 6. The second story, Miyuki starts at leave 6, but the description of lovemaking already starts in the following leave, continuing up to leave 9. The third story, Fujibakama, covers 1.5 folio, and it is also almost entirely centred around the sexual act, etc.

throws a few other fans to restrain himself, so it is said they can go on until dawn. In the end, a pun regarding the title is inserted: “During the imperial visit to the mountain, the female servant Oshio came, and she came and came again, her breathing rougher than the Tempest Mountain. Truly, the Ooi river of penis makes fans and vaginal fluids flow” (腰元小塩山みゆきゆきづめゆきつづけ鼻息さへもあらし山実にもへのこの大堰川扇ながしや淫水ながし).<sup>360</sup> In other stories too, the description of lovemaking unfolds for most of the narration and is remarkably detailed.

In pictures too, the focus is on the sexual aspect. All the 27 double-page spreads are sexually explicit, and follow the contents of the text.



Figure 26 *Ukiyo Genji-Miyuki* (6v-5r)



Figure 27 *Genji yamato-e kagami* (vol.1, 10v)

<sup>360</sup> The pun plays on the fans used in the story in reference to the ceremony called *ōginagashi*, for which, since the Muromachi period, gold and silver-decorated fans were thrown in the Ōi river (the same river of this story).

In the Miyuki illustration, the focus is on the lovemaking, depicting Mitsuuji (identifiable thanks to the hairstyle) and Oshio behind the curtains. In the background, the fans float on the river as described in the text. At the top right, the picture in the small scroll depicts the traditional illustration for this chapter in *Genji monogatari* (see fig. 27). Mitsuuji says: “How interesting it is that we started from *ōginagashi* and now we are here, spilling bodily fluids (both ‘*nagasu*’)”. Oshio replies: “I am more happy than ever. Oh, I feel that I’m coming again! Ah, ah! They kiss – chu, chu”. The account of the bizarre use of fans is an entertaining point, and the use of straightforward sexual description and onomatopoeias make the text a mainstream *shunpon*.

In *Ukiyo Genji*, then, the main aim is the depiction of sex, as the length of sexual depictions and the attention to lovemaking’s details show. The intertextual relation with *Inaka Genji*, limited to the protagonist Mitsuuji, aims to exploit his reputation as a sensual character (while *Genji monogatari*, represented by *Genji kōmon* and iconic scenes, gives only a touch of refinement to the whole *shunpon*, and no knowledge of the narrative is needed). Indeed, Mitsuuji also appears in a few pictures at the beginning of volumes 1 and 2. Since in *Ukiyo Genji* the marketing purpose is clearly expounded, this is arguably the reason for the very explicit sexual element in the stories and pictures, where the reader’s arousal is paramount, as in pornography.

#### 4.5. *Shō utsushiai-oi Genji*

The last case-study of this section is *Shō utsushiai-oi Genji* (正寫相生源氏 The Real Portrayal of Genji Growing Old with His Loved Ones- from now abbreviated as *Utsushiai-oi Genji*). This work is considered not only one of the finest *Genji*-related works, but also one of the most luxurious *shunpon* in general.<sup>361</sup> It was published in 1851, shortly after the first kabuki play really inspired by *Inaka Genji*, and then after the new *Inaka Genji* boom that the kabuki spurred.<sup>362</sup> It consists in three *ōhon* volumes (Heaven 天, earth 地, people 人). The very luxurious format is due to the unusual commissioner, since it seems that this work was requested by a daimyō (so far identified as Matsudaira Yoshinaga).<sup>363</sup> The illustrator is Kunisada, while the author has been identified as Shōtei Kinsui 松亭金水, known for his

<sup>361</sup> This work has five extant copies. I had the chance to see the originals held at the Ebi and Urakami Mitsuru collections, and I also used the copy available online at the Nichibunken database. Further copies are held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and at the Sebastian Izzard collection in New York. For this study, I have also used the transcription in Hayashi 1997.

<sup>362</sup> Hayashi 1965, pp. 118-125. The first kabuki version was played in 1838 under the title *Gosho moyō Genjizome* 裡模様源氏染. The year after, the jōruri *Inaka Genji jūndan* presented the story of Ushiwakamaru, using only *Inaka Genji*’s reputation. To find *Inaka Genji* on stage again we must wait for the first performance of *Higashiyama sakura sōshi* 東山桜莊子 and *Genji moyō furisode hinagata* 源氏模様娘雛形 in 1851.

<sup>363</sup> Hayashi 1997.

*ninjōbon* but also an author of *shunpon*. The image-text separation is tidy, with all pictures grouped at the beginning and the text at the end. Text prevails (the upper half of the pages of the preface features text, while the lower half has pictures; volume 1 has 11 folios of text and 7.5 of double-page spreads; volume 2, 11 of text and 8 double-page spreads; volume 3, 11 of text and 6 double-page spreads). Short dialogues are inserted within pictures (except for the half-folio *mikaeshi* and the *kuchi-e*).

Not only the title, but also the preface of *Utsushiai-oi Genji* create expectation about *Genji monogatari*, as is clear from this passage:

The *Genji* of the past had 54 chapters, this *Genji* of today has 10. As they say that the wisdom of a monkey is shallow compared to men, the plot [of this book] is only a fictional story to amuse. [...] The house of Yūgao in the proximity of Gojō became the residence of Asaka. The wedding of the Lady of Akashi is imitating the charm of Princess Aoi. The Lady of Suda, being the step-mother, is an imitation of Fujitsubo. The cat of the Third Princess meows ‘nyo, nyo’ when looking for a partner. Although it is not the sparrow of Inuki, the bird trapped in a cage as oiran Hamahogi, has not opened her mouth yet, so she has not heard about the rumours circulating. With these and other episodes to follow, I first start from this preface.

Both Asaka and the Lady of Akashi are characters who feature in the text of *Utsushiai-oi Genji*. The other names listed here are not in the story, but since the advertisement of a sequel is attached to one of the extant copies, they could have been the protagonists of a following publication.<sup>364</sup> The author attempts to relate the women appearing in *Utsushiai-oi Genji* to *Genji monogatari*. This impression is reinforced by the pictures inserted under the text of the preface which also relate to *Genji monogatari*. A cat holds a red thread on the first page, and a man plays *kemari* in front of the outer blind of a young woman in the following double-page spread – a clear reference to the episode of the Third Princess.

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<sup>364</sup> This advertisement is quoted by Hayashi in *Shō utsushi-ai oi Genji*, p. 4.



Figure 28 *Utsushiai-oi Genji*-Preface

From the first *kuchi-e*, however, the work shows a connection with *Inaka Genji*. Here, three ladies beautifully dressed in 19<sup>th</sup>-century guise face the garden of a magnificent residence. The three ladies probably represent the concubines of the protagonist in the text (though no clear signs confirm the correspondence), but to the eye of a reader familiar with *Inaka Genji* the resemblance of one of them with another depiction must have been recognisable. The woman on the left is depicted similarly to Toyoshi no mae in the *kuchi-e* of the first volume of *Inaka Genji*.



Figure 29 *Utsushiai-oi Genji kuchi-e* (detail)/ *Inaka Genji* hen1

This is not the only case of correlation with *Inaka Genji* in pictures. The following *kuchi-e* depicts a man and his young servant peeking from the sliding doors at two ladies playing go. The reference in the situation could be to the Utsusemi chapter in *Genji monogatari*, but the man is visually depicted like Mitsuuji. Indeed, the same male character features in a



print triptych by Kunisada, where his identity is clear thanks to the title *Mitsuuji to sakura* 光氏と桜.



Figure 30 *Mitsuuji to sakura* (left-hand part)/ *Utsushiai-oi Genji* (4r)

This similarity in the picture of *Utsushiai-oi Genji* and the print triptych confirms that the man in the illustrations of the *shunpon* is Mitsuuji. Moreover, the third *kuchi-e* not only depicts two protagonists of *Inaka Genji*, Mitsuuji and Tasogare, but also represents a situation in the *gōkan*, when in *hen* 5 the two lovers run away from Shinonome. After this, pictures do not fully rework parts in *Inaka Genji* directly, but the man is always represented as Mitsuuji.



Figure 31 *Utsushiai-oi Genji* (5r-4v)

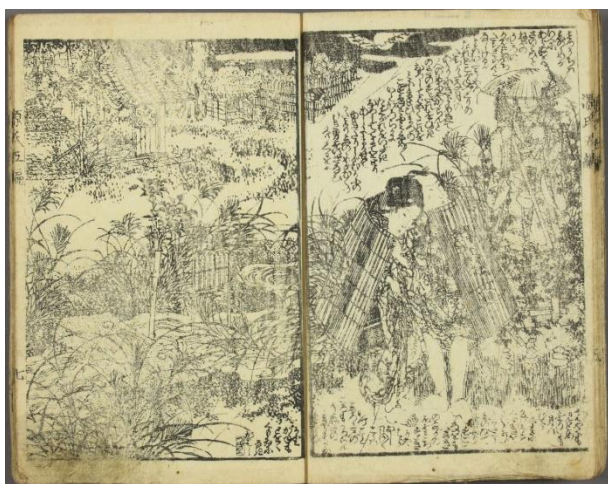


Figure 32 *Inaka Genji*-hen 5

In the text, sex is very prominent. The protagonist is not Mitsuuji, but a young and extremely attractive man called Yoshimitsu 吉光. The name intentionally sounds like Mitsuuji, creating a connection with the protagonist of *Inaka Genji*, as reinforced in pictures, where he is introduced in dialogues as ‘Mitsu’ (in katakana). The characteristics of this protagonist are also like those of Mitsuuji. As with Mitsuuji, Yoshimitsu is sexy and powerful: he is the son of a feudal lord living in Muromachi Kyoto. The story unfolding through the three volumes, though, is new. It starts with his adventure with a young girl called Otose, who lives with her mother Asaka in Sagano, whom Yoshimitsu summons as his concubine. When he does not find her at home during his first visit, Yoshimitsu ends up sleeping with Asaka. Yoshimitsu asks his servant to go to Asaka in disguise as himself the night after, so that he, Yoshimitsu, can go and sleep with Otose. When the mother discovers the plan, the lovers must run away, reminding the reader of *hen 5* of *Inaka Genji*. After the description of the three concubines of Yoshimitsu in Muromachi, on the way back home Yoshimitsu sleeps with a girl called Osome, and at the end of the story he marries the Lady of Akashi, which here sounds unrelated to *Inaka Genji*. The sexual depictions cover a considerable amount of the total of the narration, and are usually very detailed. For example, there is the whole episode of the loss of virginity of Otose, from the bawdy talk between her mother and the man chosen, to the details of the intercourse, up to its end, which covers 3.5 folios.

This confirms the impression given by the other works analysed previously, that offering sexually explicit depictions of intercourse by Mitsuuji, who already held a strong erotic allure (or, in this case, was a close imitator), means to give readers of *Inaka Genji* what they wanted. The level of explicitness also increases through time, going from the relatively mild *Naniwa Genji* to the mostly sexually-centred *Ukiyo Genji*. These works have in common



the use of *Inaka Genji* as a starting point, and particularly the reputation of its protagonist Mitsuui, who proved to be so popular as to be still featured in *Ukiyo Genji* in the 1860s, and replacing *Genji monogatari* and Prince Genji.

## 5. Replacing *Genji monogatari*: waka and *kai-awase*

In the previous three sections, we saw works inspired by *Genji monogatari* (although through digests and knowledge of its narratives) and works inspired by *Inaka Genji* (despite the reference to *Genji monogatari* in titles). Beside these *shunpon*, we can count 6 other works bearing the word *Genji* in their titles which appeared between 1711 and the end of the Edo period. These works are:

- *Fūryū iro kai-awase* 風流色貝合 (Ending title: *Genji on-kaiawase* 源氏御貝合) - 1711
- *Kai-awase hamaguri Genji kasenkai* 貝合蛤源氏哥仙貝 – 1748/51
- *Genji kagetsushō* 源氏華月抄 - 1769
- *Kachōyōjō Azuma Genji* 花鳥余情吾妻源氏 – 1837
- *Enshoku Shinasadame* 艶色品定女 – 1852
- *Kagetsu Genji* 花月源氏 – end of the Edo period

These works are analysed in a separate section because, rather than having an actual relationship with *Genji monogatari* or *Inaka Genji*, they bear a connection with the ‘*Genji-culture*’ (incense ceremony, waka, etc.). Hereafter, I explain which elements of the reputation of *Genji monogatari* they use and what takes them further away from the Heian *monogatari*.

### 5.1. *Fūryū iro kai-awase*

The first two works to be examined are *Fūryū iro kai-awase* (Fashionable Sensual Shell-matching) and *Kai-awase hamaguri Genji kasenkai* (Shell-matching Clams Genji Kasengai, from now on *Hamaguri Genji*). *Fūryū iro kai-awase* is a *yokobon*, originally in two volumes, with a preface signed by Nishikawa Sukenobu.<sup>365</sup> *Kai-awase* refers to ‘shell-matching’, a game played from the Heian period onwards. A half clam shell was decorated and placed outer side-up, and players had to match this with the other half, usually using a poem or miniature painting to facilitate matching.<sup>366</sup> After the Kamakura period, the elaborate paintings

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<sup>365</sup> This work is available online at the ARC database, at the Nichibunken database, and at the Honolulu Museum. In all cases, the second volume is missing. We can assume a second volume exists because the *daisen* of the Honolulu Museum copy states ‘first book’ (上), but also only a half of the stories whose titles are in the *mokuroku* appear in volume one, and the last story ends abruptly after a half-folio. The three books are different editions, as shown by the lack or inverted order of some illustrations, and the lack of the last line of the preface only in the volume held at Nichibunken.

<sup>366</sup> Also called *kaiooi* 貝覆. The most popular subjects are flowers and episodes from *Genji monogatari*. Sets of *kai-awase* were often part of a bridal trousseau. See Namiki 2007, p. 131.

on the shells often represented scenes from *Genji monogatari* in a very standardised way, marking a close association between the tale and the game.

This is the reason for the reference to *Genji monogatari* in the ending title of *Fūryū iro kai-awase*. Despite this allusion, however, this *shunpon* is not connected either to the *monogatari*, or the game. As is common in Sukenobu's *shunpon*, *Fūryū iro kai-awase* is a *yokobon* incorporating a lengthy text, with pictures and text on different pages and not interacting (in total, text – including a one-folio preface and one of index - covers 13 out of 21 folios, the remaining 9 folios being devoted to single-page pictures). On the total 18 pictures, the first two are not sexually explicit, and the first picture refers to *kai-awase*. This depicts five women in a *zashiki*, playing *kai-awase*, the shells placed face down in the middle. Only the first of the total 10 stories listed in the index refers to the shell-matching game.<sup>367</sup> In this story, *kai-awase* becomes the pretext that leads a young woman called Akashi (maybe a reference to *Genji monogatari*) and her neighbour, the 13-year-old Sakuranojō, to have sex. Except for this tenuous reference to the game, the rest of the stories are not related to *kai-awase* or to *Genji monogatari*. Complying with Sukenobu's *shunpon*, the sexual depictions are also quite detailed.

## 5.2. *Kai-awase hamaguri Genji kasenkai*

*Hamaguri Genji* too is more indebted to the shell-matching than to the Heian *monogatari*. This work, a *yokobon* that was originally in three volumes, is undated, but we can assume it was published in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>368</sup> The illustrator, and possible author, is Okumura Masanobu. Complying with the style of Masanobu, the layout increases in intricacy. On the total 27 folios, 13 are dedicated to text (this comprises one folio of preface and one of index) and 14 to pictures. The pictures, all double-page spreads, include the main lovemaking scene with dialogues, an original verse poem (本歌) and its parodied version, and the title inscribed in a small shell on the upper right part.

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<sup>367</sup> Due to the lack of volume 2, the extant text only covers up to the beginning of story 7.

<sup>368</sup> The only extant copy available online is held at the Pulver Collection. Unfortunately, only the first volume out of three has been preserved. The surmised date of publication is between 1704/11 (Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books), 1741/44 (Pulverer) and 1750 (Shirakura 2007).



Figure 33 *Hamaguri Genji* (9r)

This work is inspired by *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* 三十六貝歌合, a collection of poems dated 1690. This *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* groups in the first *uta-awase* section 36 poetry matches (72 waka), and in the second section 41 waka referring to different types of shells. These waka are taken from previous poetry anthologies, from *Kokinwakashū* to *Shinchokusen wakashū* 新勅撰和歌集, and are the original verse poems that *Hamaguri Genji* uses in the pictures. Each section of the *shunpon* is also titled after the names of each poem match in *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* (from number one-left *Sutare-kai* すたれ貝 to number four-right *Shiragai* 白貝 in book 1).<sup>369</sup>

Thus, there is no indication of knowledge of narratives of *Genji monogatari*. The reason why *Hamaguri Genji* uses the word *Genji* in the title is due to the link between the real source-text *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* and *Genji monogatari* as *kai-awase* (another ‘replacement’ of the real text, as happened with *Fūryū iro kai-awase*). The word ‘*hamaguri*’ (clams) refers to the type of shells commonly used for this game (but it is also an allusion to the vagina). Thus, a text that is mostly inspired by *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* ends up referring to *Genji monogatari* without having any real intertextual connection.

<sup>369</sup> Besides *Hamaguri Genji*, another work inspired by *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase*, entitled (*Kyōkun chūkai*) *Ehon kaikasen* (教訓註解) 絵本貝歌仙 was published in 1748, an educational work also illustrated by Sukenobu. The publication of another reworking of *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase* in this year suggests that *Hamaguri Genji* was possibly published around the 1740s.



Figure 34 *Hamaguri Genji* (9v)

A further look at both text and pictures of *Hamaguri Genji* shows that this work also plays on the trope of the bean man. The fictional frame can be summarised as follows: a young man of 25 has taken the nickname Hamaguri daijin. His favourite pastime is to collect shells upon which he writes poems. One day, he meets in his dreams a beautiful woman of about 18. She scolds him for not knowing the way of combination of ‘two forces’ (天地陰陽の道, a reference to sexual relations), and for spending all his time collecting shells. She expresses the wish that married couples in the real world would be like clam shells (世の中の夫婦の蛤の貝のことくあらまほし - as to complete each other). Since people of the past once composed 36 love poems and called the collection ‘*kasenkai*’, he must now see the ‘real *kasenkai*’. Taking him by the hand, she brings him to a pleasure quarter, where each scene he witnesses is compared to a shell matching.

From this point on, Hamaguri daijin puts the magic clams received from the girl on his forehead and visits the pleasure quarter witnessing all types of sexual intercourse. This sounds very similar to the structure of another of Masanobu’s *shunpon* we have seen, *Musō zokin*. Not only is the fictional frame remarkably similar (a young man receives a tool from a deity that makes him invisible. With this, he witnesses other people’s sexual intercourses), but, as with *Musō zokin*, this work is a sort of *uta-monogatari* in pictures. The bigger difference is that in *Musō zokin* the base for the poems was *Ise monogatari* and the bean man was wearing a cap, while in *Hamaguri Genji* poems are taken from *Sanjūrokukai uta-awase*, and Hamaguri daijin is wearing two clam shells.

Pictures clarify the story. In the left-hand page of the third double-page spread, we see the man receiving a shell (called in the cartouche さずかり貝) from a shell fluctuating in the air (貝こくう). The explanatory text is inserted below, and states:

[...] from the air, a voice said: “I give this shell to you. Every time you want to hide yourself, you put this shell on your forehead, and you will become invisible to other people’s eyes.” Then, this voice became dispersed by the wind among the pines, and the man awakened from his dream.



Figure 35 *Hamaguri Genji* (12r-11v)

In the following double-page spread, as stated in the explanatory text, he: “put on his head the clam shells he had received and became invisible to people’s eyes” (あたへのはまぐりをかぶりしにより人のめに見へじ).

All things considered, the text of *Hamaguri Genji* is inspired by the bean-man series more than by *Genji monogatari*. We can conclude that in *Hamaguri Genji* and *Fūryū kai-awase*, *Genji monogatari* is replaced by *kai-awase*, through its association with the game, which had come to replace the text.

### 5.3. *Genji Kagetsushō*

A few years later, in 1769, *Genji kagetsushō* (Genji Commentary of Moon and Flowers), by Suzuki Harunobu, was published. As stated in its preface, this work was made up of five volumes, but only one has been preserved.<sup>370</sup> The title plays on the commentary of *Genji monogatari* by Kitamura Kigin, *Genji kogetsushō*. The connection with *Genji monogatari* is created through *Genji kōmon* symbols, chapter names and waka in the illustrated section. In this *shunpon*, the double-spread pictures (covering 5 out of 13 folios) sometimes include dialogues, and except for the *kuchi-e*, they feature a *Genji*-chapter title associated with one of its waka and the incense ceremony symbol. The first half-folio *kuchi-e* is dedicated to the traditional depiction of Murasaki Shikibu staring at the moon and the lake at Ishiyamadera (although she stands on the veranda instead of sitting at her desk). The *Genji* chapters quoted here are Kiritsubo (written きり開, alluding to the character used for vagina), Yadorigi (やどり

<sup>370</sup> A copy of the first volume is held at Nichibunken and one in Ebi.



気), Hatsune, and Yomogiū. The double-page spreads referring to *Genji* chapters are sexually explicit, and pair a caption at the top from *Genji monogatari* (waka) with a lovemaking scene. The combination of both is unexpected, and the counterpoint created by this association of modalities creates incongruity, thus resulting in a humorous effect.



Figure 36 *Genji kagetsushō* (5r-4v)

For example, the double-page spread titled Yadorigi proves to be humorous. The text states: “journeys are made of the way; the world of men is made of affection”. In the illustration, a man attempts to have sex with a young woman who seems reluctant, in what is probably an inn. In the dialogue, the man says: “I will stop [here] tomorrow”. The woman replies: “I just hope nobody will come”, explaining the reason for her lack of enthusiasm. The forced association between the poem, and the lovemaking with a girl in the inn is not expected, creating incongruity between what the reader would expect as a conventional representation of Yadoriki and the scene below.



Figure 37 *Genji kagetsushō* (3r-2v)

The only double-page spread that does not play on *Genji monogatari* is also humorous. It depicts a young man sitting gloomily in front of a man who looks like an ascetic figure. The two men are before the inner sanctuary of a Shinto shrine, where the torii outside states “Otokone daimyōjin” 男根大明神 (lit. penis deity). We can guess that the old man is the embodiment of this deity, since the shape of his headgear resembles the glans of a penis.

The text of *Genji kagetsushō* clarifies what happens in this picture, again in connection with the trope of the bean-man. A young man called Ashikari Genjirō 葦荊源治郎, the son of a rōnin called Gennai, is so beautiful he evokes Prince Genji, so people call him Hikaru Genji 光る源治. Unfortunately, however, he was born with a micro-penis, and despite being very lecherous and popular among women, at the age of 18 he still has no sexual experience. Ashamed of his flaw, he avoids having sex with women, but secretly blames his fate. Then, he remembers the story of Mame’emon, an ugly man who prayed to the gods to be able to lead a  
normal sex life, and obtained from a deity the chance to exchange bodies and enjoy intercourse  
with other men’s women. Believing that he only wants a penis to be filial and have offspring, he goes to pray for 17 days at the Kanamara myōjin 金まら明神 (gold-penis god).

At dawn on the 17<sup>th</sup> day, the deity of the shrine appears in reply to Genjirō’s ardent prayers. The reason for his present state is his wrongdoings in a previous life, when he was keen on the way of youths, and as clerk of a merchant he stole his master’s money to have fun in the gay pleasure quarters and sexually assaulted young men, dying in the end of exhaustion of the kidneys (too much sex) and without heirs. The deity describes male-male sex as sinful, being based only on the insertee’s pleasure, and not producing offspring. Despite his sinful past, the deity sympathises with Genjirō’s intention of being filial and having offspring, so he agrees to gift him a big penis with special powers for a period of 60 days. With this, he also gives him a magic potion to make women fall in love with him, so he can fully enjoy those days and leave as many heirs as possible. When the man vanishes, Genjirō wakes up and, seeing the penis and the potion, cries for joy. This is the end of the first, and only extant, book of *Genji kagetsushō*, but we can guess that in the following four books the protagonist would start an erotic pilgrimage to have sex with as many women as possible. The humour seen in pictures is partially exploited in the text too. The beautiful man without a penis subverts the reader’s expectation about the stereotype of a young, pretty playboy. It has been argued that this story was created by Harunobu to make fun of his friend Hiraga Gennai, keen on the way of youths, who is also mentioned as Genjirō’s father.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>371</sup>Hayashi 1965, p. 163.



The only reference to *Genji monogatari* is in the pictures, where the Heian *monogatari* is reduced to chapter names, waka and incense symbols only. On the other hand, the plot is inspired by *Kontan iro-asobi otoko*, whose protagonist Maneemon is also directly quoted. As for *Hamaguri Genji*, the hypotext of the main story of the *shunpon* relates to the bean-man series, a true best-seller in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Harunobu was also aware of *Hamaguri Genji*, as some similarities in the illustrations of both seem to confirm.<sup>372</sup> In sum, this analysis confirms that instead of *Genji monogatari*, two of the three *shunpon* with *Genji*-inspired titles published during the 18<sup>th</sup> century were based on *mame-otoko* works, as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the popularity of *mame-otoko* works had overtaken that of the real *Genji monogatari* among popular readers.

#### 5.4. *Kachōyōjō Azuma Genji*

From here on, this section will move to 19<sup>th</sup> century *shunpon*. These works too play on references from *Genji*-culture, without retaining any narrative. The work analysed here, *Kachōyōjō Azuma Genji* (from now on *Azuma Genji*), was the first to appear in 1837, and is an *ōhon* in three volumes.<sup>373</sup> The title plays openly on the *Genji monogatari* commentary *Kachōyōsei* 花鳥余情 (1472) by Ichijō no Kaneyoshi 一条兼良, from which it also takes the preface verbatim. The illustrator is Kunisada, and the compiler is signed at the beginning of the text as Daibi sanjin 大鼻山人 (literally big nose/penis mountain man, identified with the *gesaku* writer Hosokawa Rōjirō 細川浪二郎).<sup>374</sup> All volumes open with a half-page close-up of a woman dressed in a fashionable way. After this, double-page spreads are grouped at the beginning, all sexually explicit and containing no text. The last half-folio illustration always shows a close-up of genitalia, similar to the close-ups in the renowned *shinansho Makura bunko*. Except for a picture and the preface from *Kachōyōsei*, references to *Genji monogatari* are removed. No *Genji monogatari* waka, small pictures from *Genji monogatari* or shell/incense symbols are inserted.<sup>375</sup> The only exception is the first double-page spread of volume one, depicting the scene of the Third Princess, where cats are mating.<sup>376</sup> Nor does this work retain any knowledge of narratives from *Genji monogatari*: instead, it uses its reputation

<sup>372</sup> In the chapter about *Ise monogatari*, I mentioned that Harunobu took inspiration from *Musō zokin* too for his *Mane'emon*. In a scene of Harunobu's *Maneemon* there is the same depiction of a couple of cats breeding that was firstly featured in an illustration of *Hamaguri Genji*. See Suzuki 2017, p. 20.

<sup>373</sup> A copy is available online at the Nichibun database. An annotated transcription was also provided by Hayashi in 1982.

<sup>374</sup> Hayashi 1982.

<sup>375</sup> The text/picture proportion sees text dominating. Volume one has 8.5 folios of text and 7 of pictures; volume two has 12 folios of text and 5 of pictures; volume three has 6 folios of pictures and 14 of text.

<sup>376</sup> Interestingly, this depiction looks very similar to cats mating appeared in *Hamaguri Genji* first, and later also in *Mane'emon*. See Suzuki 2017, p. 20.

as a refined text, through the title and preface of one of Genji's commentaries. References to *Inaka Genji* are absent also.

As shown by Hayashi, the text is taken, with some small deviations to make it sexually explicit, from the jōruri *Shin usuyuki monogatari*.<sup>377</sup> This work concerns the love correspondence between Lady Usuyuki and Monobe Saemon. The layout is also carefully preserved, keeping all the waka separate from the rest of the text, lowered and in a rectangular frame. This means that the sexual component of this work is drastically reduced, to the point that lovemaking is described only in volume three, after 8.5 folios of letters and waka (this continues for slightly more than a folio, after which the story resumes, but with a happy ending). As in other *shunpon*, the device used here is to make explicit what in the source-text was left implicit (what happened *when* the couple met). Not only is the sexually explicit part remarkably limited compared to many other *shunpon*, but the original didactic nature of the source-text is unchanged, while all the waka and quotations from earlier literature are preserved. It is not an easy task to infer why a *shunpon* referring to a *Genji monogatari* commentary in its title would be based on an unrelated text, but we may guess that this was done to convey some literary knowledge, using the appeal of popular trends in the title.

### 5.5. *Enshoku shinasadame*

*Enshoku shinasadame* (Sensual Evaluations), a *hanshibon* in three volumes, has a preface signed by Inraku San'nin 姪楽山人, while the illustrator has been identified as Utagawa Kunimori 歌川国盛.<sup>378</sup> Since it was presumably published in 1852, we can assume it is also a result of the renewed popularity of *Inaka Genji* following the first performance of the kabuki. This work shows a similar balance of pictures with text (9 folios of text – one of which is the preface – and 7 of pictures in vol. 1; 6 folios of text and 7 of pictures in vol. 2; 5 folios of text and 7 of pictures in vol. 3). In all three books, *kuchi-e* depict shells with *Genji*-waka inscribed (one folio), plus a half-folio illustrated waka. After these, sexually explicit pictures, all double-page spreads, do not have dialogues, but feature a small scene from *Genji monogatari* inscribed in a shell, and a waka taken from the same *Genji* chapter in a cartouche. The strong association between *Genji monogatari* with shell-matching and waka that we have seen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century *shunpon* reappears here. *Genji monogatari* is not the only text recalled in the pictures: with one exception in volume three (where the couple is depicted with Heian-period hairstyles, the man wearing *ebōshi*), the man in the illustrations has the same hairstyle of Mitsuueji in *Inaka Genji*.

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<sup>377</sup> Hayashi in *Azuma Genji*, p. 86.

<sup>378</sup> Shirakura 2007, Hayashi 2014, vol.11.



Figure 38 Enshoku shinasadame (plate 5)

In the text, nothing is retained of the narrative of *Inaka Genji*, while a weak reference to *Genji monogatari* remains in the preface. The preface is a succession of rhetorical elements, ending with a reference to the evaluation of women on a rainy night in the Hahakigi chapter of *Genji monogatari* (例の左馬頭が雨夜の品定めにはあらねど、よき女の姿こそおのづから花によそへらるるものなれ). The beginning of the text follows this *Genji*-related fictional frame, substituting the discussion among friends in *Genji monogatari* with the reading of old love letters on a spring rainy night. After this, the text adapts a didactic tone, describing happenings during the first night of newlyweds. From this point, the text sounds like a *shinansho* (similar to text in *Enshi gojūyōjō*).

In volume one, different words used for the first sexual act are discussed in these terms: “There is nothing as painful, scary, embarrassing and happy as managing the first intercourse (*niimakura*). It is called *hatsudoko*, or *mizuage* 水上, or *arabachi*, *ara* in a fashionable way. These [words] all mean first sex (*niimakura*)”. The reference to something ‘embarrassing’ and ‘painful’ seems to consider women’s point of view too, unlike *Enshi gojūyōjō*. The depiction of how things happen during the first night continues for 3 folios, but it does not appear to be addressed to men as in *Enshi gojūyōjō*. In *Enshoku shinasadame*, it is more neutral, stating both perspectives as ‘the man may be lost about what to do and what to say to approach the woman’ (男も何といひよらんたよりもなく如何はせんと思ひける) or ‘when the woman is not able to endure the pain anymore and she tries to lean forward, [the man] holds her in his arms and stops her’. After this generically instructive part, a narrative part begins with the story of a married woman abandoned by her husband, who has sexual intercourse with one of the clerks in her shop. At the end of the volume, the sexually explicit part covers one folio and a half (out of 8.5). From the second volume onwards there is narrative, which follows the story of a man

who falls in love with the lady-in-waiting of an old woman, their long courtship until he manages to convince her, and their intercourse at the end (almost 3 folios). This part gives long depictions of the chastity and loyalty of the woman, and ends with the couple's marriage. Again, we can infer a readership other than just men, considering the references to chastity and happy marriage at the end.

### 5.6. *Kagetsu Genji*

Another work that appeared in the same year that retains waka from *Genji monogatari* is *Kagetsu Genji* (Moon and Flower Genji) by Shōzan.<sup>379</sup> This work is lavishly illustrated. All the half-folio pictures are framed with gold leaf, which also adorns the *Genji monogatari* waka inserted in the upper-right part of each page. The text is surrounded by a purple frame with *Genji kōmon* motifs. Waka are the only textual element inserted in the pictures, starting from Kiritsubo up to Hotaru (25<sup>th</sup> chapter of *Genji monogatari*) at the end of volume three. Overall, the text prevails (counting the preface too, there are 12.5 folios of text in volume one and 8 of pictures; 10 folios of text and 6.5 of pictures in volume 2; 9 of text and 6.5 folios of pictures in volume 3). The three volumes have an illustrated mikaeshi (the second depicting the cat with a red throat, as in the Wakana episode).

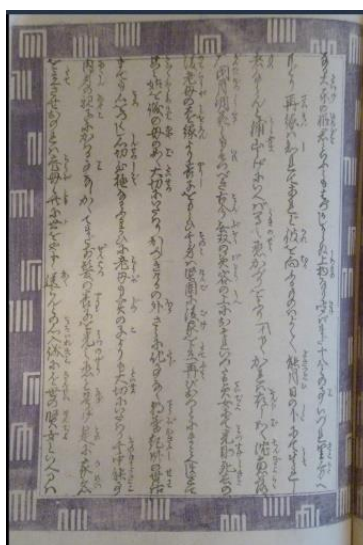


Figure 38 *Kagetsu Genji* (6r)(10r)

*Kagetsu Genji* retains no narrative element from either *Genji monogatari* or *Inaka Genji*, but plays on some elements of the reputation of both texts. In the first volume, after a fold-out double-page spread, a waka on Ishiyamadera faces the illustration of Murasaki Shikibu on the left. For the first time, this *mitate* depiction becomes sexually explicit. Murasaki is still

<sup>379</sup> *Kagetsu Genji* is held at the Urakami Mitsuru Collection.

sitting at her desk in front of a veranda, looking out to the moon and lake scene, but at her side is a young man showing an erect penis and holding her hand.

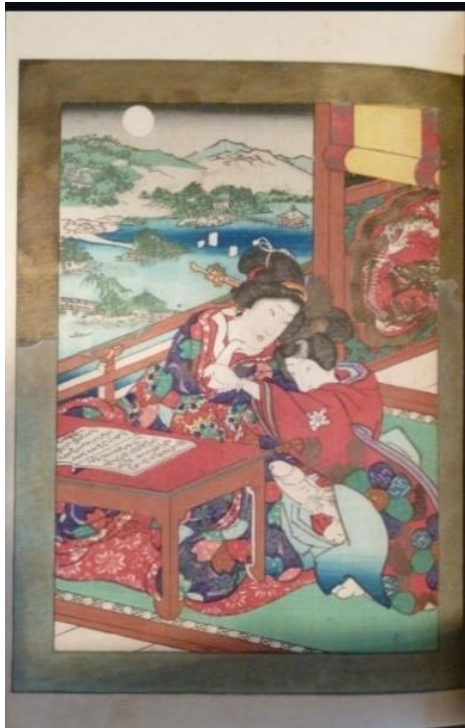


Figure 39 Kagetsu Genji kuchi-e

The following pictures are all overtly sexual, and again the man is depicted with Mitsuuji's hairstyle. This representation of Mitsuuji, combined with the waka in the picture, refers to elements of the reputation of *Genji monogatari* and *Inaka Genji*, but shows no interest in their narratives. Similarly, the preface mildly alludes to *Genji monogatari*, presenting it as a didactic text because, despite the fact that it could be considered erotic (好色) due to its several love-affairs, it is a tool to bring people to the right way. It even goes so far as to say that Murasaki herself was the embodiment of Kanzeon. So, the title *Kagetsu Genji* is inspired by *Genji monogatari*, since the purpose is to write about every aspect of relationships between men and women, as did *Genji monogatari*.

The text also sets expectations about *Genji monogatari* by starting with a discussion about women on a rainy night (by a feudal lord, and the retainers Umanojō 馬之丞 and Tojūrō 頭十郎, playing on Uma no Kami and Tō no chūjō). After this, however, the text drifts away from *Genji monogatari*, introducing a new story. Once again, *Genji monogatari* is used as linked with *Genji*-culture (*Genji kōmon* and waka), while the male protagonist of the sexual pictures, who looks like Mitsuuji, embodies the iconic representation of the sexy lover (instead of Genji).

The story is about the young widow Hana and the feudal lord. Attracted by her virtues as praised by the two retainers, the lord summons her, but she insists on protecting her chastity (sexual intercourse in volumes one/two happens only between the lord and two of his concubines). When she accepts the lord's courtship, readers discover that the reason she kept chaste for so long is her scandalous relationship with her adopted son Mitsunojō 光之丞. After having sex with Hana, the lord falls crazily in love with her. One of the concubines discovers Hana's secret, and blackmails her to swap rooms, so Mitsunojō, whom she likes, would unknowingly visit her. The text ends abruptly here, but since the waka in the pictures also stop at Hotaru, we can guess this is the first part of a series that was supposed to continue. The sexually explicit part is not extensive and covers on average 2 folios of each volume (respectively out of total 12.5, 10, and 9 folios). Hence, despite the straightforward nature of the illustrations and the detailed depictions of intercourse, the text seems to want to induce sexual arousal while also narrating an interesting story.

## CONCLUSION

After this examination, it is possible to conclude that *Genji monogatari* was a text that could be relatively easily converted into a *shunpon*. It already features many love-affairs and sensual relationships, though they are always only implied. It was easy to move from the realm of sensuality to erotic content by simply adding a sentence in the text (*Ise Genji shikishi zukushi*) or sexually explicit pictures, depicting 'what followed' (both 17<sup>th</sup> century *shunpon*). Though the text at this point is still not straightforward, as often happened at this stage, we can see the first shift to more sexual contents. The use of *Genji binkagami* suggests that at this time readers particularly appreciated this commentary because it gives the required knowledge of *Genji monogatari* (contents and waka) with the most abridged text and many pictures. Except for these works, the only text that proved to be inspired by narratives of *Genji monogatari* is *Genji shinasadame*. This *shunpon* moves further from the *Genji monogatari* text, retains a waka only in pictures, and becomes more explicit and humorous. It is likely that the role of sex was to make the contents more enjoyable, through the incongruity created with the association between courtly, refined literature and lovemaking or unexpected sexual scenes.

After the publication of *Inaka Genji* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all the *Genji shunpon* are inspired by *Inaka Genji*. In *Naniwa Genji*, *Sumagoto* and *Enshi gojūyōjō*, the rewriting is based on real contents (text and pictures in the first two, pictures only in the third), to make explicit what was already erotic in *Inaka Genji* with a limited reworking. Later rewritings are based on the reputation of Mitsuuji as the playboy of his time (*Ukiyo Genji*, *Utsuhsiai-oi Genji*, *Enshoku*

*shinasadame*, *Kagetsu Genji*) who substituted Prince Genji and represents what Narihira was in the first part of the Edo period.

Before *Inaka Genji*, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we have no text inspired by the real contents of *Genji monogatari*. In this period, *Genji monogatari* was used only through its reputation as related to *kai-awase*, waka and *Genji kōmon*. This suggests that non-educated Edo period readers no longer read the whole text of *Genji monogatari*. The publication of *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* took this further. *Inaka Genji* was unusually bold for the time, so much so that the book's overt eroticism may have been one of the factors that caused the banning of *Inaka Genji* by the authorities. Not only is there an extraordinary number of pictures of Mitsuui in bed (often with a woman), but his erotic charge was probably a defining element of its notoriety, and for some readers this contributed greatly to *Inaka Genji*'s appeal.

Among these texts, we see different level of explicitness. *Naniwa Genji* only slightly readapts the source-text to add one sexual depiction. *Sumagoto* focuses more on the introduction of several sex scenes. In *Enshi gojūyōjō*, some sexually explicit pictures are easily created. Moving further from the text, *Utsushiai-oi Genji*, *Enshoku shinasadame* and *Ukiyo Genji* try to exploit Mitsuui's reputation, which is why they become more sexually explicit (particularly *Ukiyo Genji*, chronologically the last one). We may consider these works close to pornographic in the sense that they use sex with a clear – and spottable - commercial purpose that does not leave room for much more else. They all exploit readers' desire to see the sexy Mitsuui finally having sex.

This partially explains the gap sometimes detected between texts and pictures in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Publishers wanted to provide readers with sexually-explicit depictions of *Inaka Genji* and Mitsuui. To create a text that really reworked *Inaka Genji* must have been hard for writers, and may explain why authors resorted to other devices, such as using other texts or adding didactic contents, always well received by readers during the Edo period. If it is true that *Inaka Genji* was particularly appreciated among female readers (as suggested by Emmerich among others, showing that the *gōkan* was similar to present-day fashion magazines and women's cosmetics advertisements), and that *Genji monogatari* had a long tradition of female readers (as suggested by Kornicki and Rowley), it seems reasonable to postulate that women also appreciated this shift to sexual contents. In some cases, such as *Utsushiai-oi*, *Enshoku shinasadame* or *Kagetsu Genji*, the protagonists are women and stories are narrated in a way that is appealing for them as readers. Only in *Enshi gojūyōjō* can we be sure that the text is addressed to men.



## CONCLUSION

Whilst focusing on selected case studies, this dissertation has explored how *shunpon* not only have intrinsic value as a field that warrants scholarly attention, but are also valuable tools in the study of the publishing industry and literary production of the Edo period.

Needless to say, *shunpon* are important in view of their sheer number as well as their artistic quality. Nonetheless, I maintain that their meaning lies also in their ability to tell us much about the publishing and literary panorama they inhabit. Spanning across three centuries, *shunpon* worked like sponges, absorbing the fashions of the publishing industry. First, they embraced a variety of book formats and page layouts, showcasing the evolution of book design up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Second, they displayed a dizzying array of textual typologies, from the dry, didactic prose of sex manuals, to fictional narratives of different length, including poems and short captions within pictures. Despite having been so far relegated to a separate category due to their sexually explicit nature, I argue that the study of *shunpon* gains particular value when we do not consider them as a distinct entity, but as a textual typology that is intertwined with the whole early-modern writing. What is more, I argue that the study of text, and not only images, in *shunpon* allows us to fully appreciate their meaning and potential.

The study of sexually-explicit rewritings of Heian-period and early modern texts has shown that *shunpon* are valuable materials to rethink the history of canon-making in the Edo period. A meticulous close-reading of *shunpon* adaptations, in fact, shows which non-sexually explicit texts were popular at the time of their publication. We have discovered, for example, that a work like *Meijo nasake kurabe*, labelled at best as minor in literary histories, was so popular at the time as to see two rewritings in only a few years- as many as *Makura no sōshi* had. Similarly, we have realized that *Makura no sōshi*, considered a canonical work today, was not read in its entirety during the Edo period, to the point that its *shunpon* versions adapted the abridged illustrated version of 1741 rather than the Heian-period text. We have also managed to distinguish between ‘textual knowledge’ and ‘reputation’, arguing that in the case of *Makura no sōshi*, what played a great role was its reputation as a text with lists that show a certain penchant for risqué topics.

In the case of *Ise monogatari*, its status of canonical work was no different in the Edo period, being the object of a variety of rewritings that also included *shunpon*. Its protagonist Ariwara no Narihira, in particular, came to be the prototype of the playboy in sex manuals as well as in other fictional materials. Finally, we have understood that the most celebrated piece of Japanese literature today, *Genji monogatari*, was read mostly through digests until the

appearance of *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This means that, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only key-points in the story-line of each chapter were known and therefore used in sexually explicit adaptations. However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, much in line with what Emmerich has previously argued, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* replaced *Genji monogatari*. At that point, readers were interested in Mitsuuji, and not so much in Genji anymore. Furthermore, Mitsuuji's reputation began to compete with that of Narihira as the symbol of the 'amorous man'. However, the analysis of *shunpon* rewritings related to *Genji monogatari* has also shown that this text enjoyed a reputation as an anthology of *waka* poetry as well as the source of sociable games like the incense ceremony. This allowed the names of the protagonists to become widely known and played upon in *shunpon*. Altogether, the four chapters of this dissertation have problematized the very concept of 'textual adaptation' as the verbatim re-use of a specific source text, and have shown that we must take into account the 'reputation' that a text might have had. In turn, the study of *shunpon* adaptations clearly shows what that reputation was.

The second aspect that this dissertation has discussed is the purposes of *shunpon*. While not denying that sexual arousal could have been the purpose, the analysis of the works chosen here has unveiled two aims that previous research has not discussed: humour and didacticism. I have identified humour in the presence of entertaining stories, not always necessarily sexually explicit. A comic facet emerges also in the dialogues that accompany pictures, which act as a counterpoint that adds playfulness to the otherwise sexual illustrations. Notably, dialogues reveal mishaps that can happen during intercourse, such as uncomfortable positions, misaligned genitals, silly seduction manoeuvres, pets or children witnessing, and several others. We have mostly seen in *shunpon* and *shunga* a playful attitude towards sexuality, and not the more attacking and satiric type of humour that we have in Europe, where moral stigma was attached to sex. These texts did not restrict themselves to repeated description of sexual intercourse, but were interspersed with other sorts of materials, such as comic narrative and poetry, along with the sexual. They could provide other kinds of pleasure for the reader in addition to sexual enjoyment.

The humour detected in texts and dialogues in *shunpon* employs different techniques. It uses exaggeration, incongruity, duping (moron jokes), puns, the comic potential of similarity and difference and, obviously, parody. In parody, humour is created thanks to the gap between the source-text and the rewriting. Beyond the specific forms that humour takes in *shunpon*, it is worth considering a much wider connection between sex and humour. I argue that the two acts have a communality, that is part of our natural, pleasurable experiences. Sex exemplifies the connection between human beings and bodily earthliness. It is common to all, and at the

same time it calls to mind the bodily dimension of human beings, since the basic human sexual act, copulation, is fundamentally the same as most other mammalian species. But humour is also shared by a community, so it can be historical and related to a group of people that have a shared view on social norms. Therefore, sex provides a profitable opportunity for common laughter. It is then a sensible topic, and as such it becomes a good vehicle for the comic, since it can make people laugh at the tension it creates.

The didactic aim of *shunpon* is primarily seen in sex manuals such as *shinansho*.<sup>380</sup> The main aim of the kind of *iro-shinansho* analysed in this study is to teach efficiently people how to have good sex. Through manuals and didactic stories, these works aimed to provide a sexual education and prophylaxis, by promoting particular kinds of sexual behaviour. Through these materials, the reader would learn how to have sex in the ‘correct way’, intended not only as a pleasant experience (reflected in the importance given to pleasure for all the participants), but also as a way to keep the body in a healthy state (as thought in Chinese medicine) and to comply with procreational duty (hence the instruction about how married couples should interact, and later on how to behave during and after pregnancy).

Unlike modern pornography, sexual pleasure was seen as being connected to the possibility of conception. Readers of these materials could decide how to balance their own attitude towards sex, that could be ‘lust’ in the sense of pleasure only (and so antisocial), and positive, procreative sex (since in pre-modern Japan to produce offspring was seen as a fundamental social obligation).<sup>381</sup> This procreative aspect was an important characteristic of *shunpon*. This way, it appears that the texts I have analysed here do not question the ‘ie’ (household) system and did not try to dismantle it. Also, as educational topics were paramount in printed works throughout the Edo period, it is not surprising that the educational purpose was so strong in regard to sexual matters. This ‘hunger’ for all kinds of sexual knowledge must have been natural in an era when books were an important vehicle for instruction, both for men and women.

Using earlier literary works was also another mean by which the diffusion of knowledge about previous literature was enhanced. *Shunpon*, then, were also important vehicles to foster the circulation of knowledge of those texts that were considered a must in one way or another. We can apply to *shunpon* rewritings what Timothy Clark has noted apropos of *mitate*: *shunpon* rewritings are part of ‘the “cultural route” by which themes are adapted by successive

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<sup>380</sup> As mentioned in chapter 2, the very origins of *shunpon* in Japan is strictly related with the spread of medical Chinese texts, and with the creation of health nurturing materials. *Iro-shinansho* are the evolution of these texts expunged of all Taoist medical principles.

<sup>381</sup> The dualism ‘antisocial lust’ and ‘prosocial love’ has been theorised by Thauvette in “Defining Early Modern Pornography”.

generations of artists working in different media for successive audiences of different socio-economic backgrounds'.<sup>382</sup> The adaptations examined in this dissertation have shown that we are not dealing with a subordinate group reacting in a relatively aggressive way against the culture of the dominant social group. Rather, these re-adaptations embody their will of acquiring what I deem to be necessary knowledge.

While fuelling the acquisition of a necessary cultural literacy, these rewritings were done in such a way as to allow the creation of a new culture. In other words, *shunpon* rewritings on the one hand provided readers with a new story, but on the other hand signalled what was to be considered canonical, and therefore may have lured readers to return to read the source-text. The new parodies came to be replacements of the parodied works, slowly evolving into new entities. Thus, parody becomes a means of renewal, enhancing creative development.

The third aspect that this dissertation has explored, albeit indirectly, is a trajectory in the chronological development in *shunpon*. If we consider the *shunpon* explored in this dissertation (see Appendix 2), we note an increase in both illustration and mostly in lengthy texts. I identified this turning point in the first half of the 18th century (*Fūfu narabi no oka*, 1714, published by Hachimonjiya and illustrated by Sukenobu, explored in Chapter 3), where the presence of a lengthy text allows the text to become more 'pornographic'.

These lengthy texts with explicit depiction of sexual intercourse came to lose the educational or humorous side that characterises many of the *shunpon* analysed, and move more and more to pornography, as in the sense of closer to the representation of 'pornotopia'. This is particularly true for the later rewritings seen in Chapter 4. The few works that appeared close to 'pornotopia' are also those that did not treat sex in a humorous way and did not play on the incongruity created by the contrast with previous works, or on the counterpoint between pictures and dialogues. Other works, often far from 'pornotopia' and erotic at the most, show that the lines between erotic and depiction of sex are not always neat but can be blurred.

Despite the fact that *shunpon* were the object of censorship, not only did numbers stay steady throughout the Edo period (as the graph included in the Catalogue of the 2013 Exhibition at the British Museum shows), but there was high freedom in depicting sex with no stigma - as joyous, humorous and embedded in daily life.<sup>383</sup> By examining *shunpon* rewritings, this dissertation has shown how sexually-explicit works, which could also be used for sexual arousal, offered much more than sex. They mirrored the trend of the publishing industry in its development, they fostered the circulation of shared cultural literacy, they played a key role in

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<sup>382</sup> Clark 1997, p. 22.

<sup>383</sup> Shunga: Sex and Pleasure, p. 259.

the canonization of specific titles, and they provided readers with humorous entertainment as well as informative didacticism. These are the facets that emerge when engaging with the texts of *shunpon*, and not only the images, and when considering them as an intrinsic part of the early-modern publishing industry. And these facets prompt us to reflect upon the very concept of pornography, problematizing and expanding the discourse produced in the West.

	<b>APPENDIX 1 SHUNPON REWRITINGS</b>	(works analysed are in bold)				
	<b>Title</b>	<b>題名</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Original</b>	<b>原文題名</b>	<b>Genre</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Ise Genji shikishi zukushi</b>	<b>伊勢源氏色紙づくし</b>	<b>1674-82</b>	<b>Genji binkagami/ Ise monogatari</b>	<b>伊勢物語・源氏鬘鏡</b>	<b>Digest/ haiku</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Genji kyasha makura</b>	<b>源氏きしゃ枕</b>	<b>1676</b>	<b>Genji binkagami</b>	<b>源氏鬘鏡</b>	<b>Digest/ haiku</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Genji on-iro asobi</b>	<b>源氏御色遊</b>	<b>1681</b>	<b>Meijo nasake kurabe</b>	<b>名女情比</b>	<b>Kanazōshi</b>
4	Narihira honchō no shinobi	業平本朝のしのび	1681/84	Ise monogatari?	伊勢物語	Ise monogatari
5	Kōshoku kinmōzui	好色訓蒙図彙	1686	Kinmōzui	訓蒙図彙	Educational
<b>6</b>	<b>Kōshoku meijo makura</b>	<b>好色名女枕</b>	<b>1686</b>	<b>Meijo nasake kurabe</b>	<b>名女情比</b>	<b>Kanazōshi</b>
7	Kōshoku otogibōko	好色おとぎぼうこ	1686	Kōshoku kinmōzui/K. tabi makura	好色訓蒙図彙・好色旅枕	Kanazōshi
<b>8</b>	<b>Musō zokin</b>	<b>夢想頭巾</b>	<b>1704/11</b>	<b>In'yō Ise fūryū</b>	<b>女男伊勢風流</b>	<b>Ise fūryū</b>
9	Oshiegusa onna daigaku	教草女大学	1710/20s?	Oshiegusa onna daigaku	教草女大学	Jokunsho
10	Nasake hiinagata	情ひいな形	1713	Iro hiinagata	色ひいな形	Ukiyozōshi
11	Ukiyo jikkai	浮世十界	1715	Jikkai	仏教の十界	Buddhism
12	Kōshoku furōmon	好色不老門	1716	Ukiyozōshi books	浮世草子の仕立て	Ukiyozōshi
13	Ehon mitsuwagusa	絵本美徒和草	1724	Ehon mitsuwagusa	絵本三津輪草	Ehon
14	Onna shutendō jimakura kotoba	女酒呑童子枕言葉	1737	Shutendō jimakura kotoba	近松門左衛門の「酒呑童子枕言葉」	Jōruri
<b>15</b>	<b>Hamaguri Genji kasen gai</b>	<b>蛤源氏歌仙貝</b>	<b>1749</b>	<b>Sanjūrokukai uta-awase</b>	<b>三十六貝歌合</b>	<b>Waka</b>
16	Onna dairaku takara beki	女大学宝開	1751	Onna daigaku takarabako	女大学宝箱	Jokunsho
17	Bidō nichiya johōki	艶道日夜女宝記	1764	Idō nichiyō chōhōki	医道日用重宝記	Medicine

18	Mane teppō	真似鉄砲	1767	Mame teppō	豆鉄砲	Senryū
19	Onna dekin gejo bunko	女貞訓下所文庫	1768	Onna teikin gosho bunko	女庭訓御所文庫	Jokunsho
20	Kinmō kōshoku zui	訓蒙好色図彙	1769	Kōshoku kinmōuzui	好色訓蒙図彙の翻案	Ukiyozōshi
21	<b>Genji kagetsu shō</b>	<b>源氏花月抄</b>	<b>1769</b>	<b>Some waka from Genji monogatari</b>		
22	Fūryū zashiki hakkei	風流座敷八景	1769	Zashiki hakkei	晴信の「座敷八景」の春画バージョン	Album
23	Ehon kaikasen	(翠紅帳閨) 笑本開歌僊	1770	Ehon kaikasen (1748)	西川祐信「絵本貝歌仙」	Ehon
24	Imayō tsuma kagami	今様妻鑑	1771	Wakan rōeishū	漢詩を詞書にして見立てを趣向にした	Chinese poetry
25	Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi	女令川趣文	1771	Onna imagawa oshiebumi	女今川教文 1768	Jokunsho
26	<b>Ehon haru no akebono</b>	<b>笑本春の曙</b>	<b>1772</b>	<b>Ehon asahiyama</b>	<b>絵本朝日山</b>	<b>Ehon</b>
27	Ehon tōwa kagami	咲本当和鑑	1773	Ehon tōwa kagami (1729)	題名は、西川祐信「絵本答話鑑」	Ukiyozōshi
28	Ehon Hime Komatsu	笑本姫小松	1773	Ehon Hime Komatsu	西川祐信「絵本姫小松」	Ukiyozōshi
29	Yūshoku imose dane	遊色妹背種	1774	Wakan rōeishū	和漢朗詠集	Chinese poetry
30	Enshoku chitose gusa	艶色千歳草	1776	Ehon yottsu no toki	絵本四つの時	Ukiyozōshi ?
31	Shikidō mitsu no den	色道三津之伝	1775	Isshō tokubyōe mitsu no den	一生徳兵衛三乃伝	Kibyōshi
32	Kōshoku irowa moji	好色いろは文字	1776	Iro wa moji	いろは文字 (1762)	Ōraimono
33	Makura dōji nukisashi manben tamaguki	枕童子抜差万遍玉茎	1776	Shindōji ōrai bansei hōzō (1760)	新童子往来万世宝蔵	Ōraimono
34	Igagoe norizume gappa	居続越乗結合肌	1777	Igakoe norikake kappa	伊賀越乗掛合肌	Kabuki script



35	Shokumotsu baka honzō	色物馬鹿本草	1778	Shokumotsu waka honzō zōho ( 1667)	食物和歌本草増補	Honzō
<b>36</b>	<b>Ukiyo no itoguchi</b>	浮世糸具知	<b>1780</b>	<b>Ehon Asahiyama</b>	絵本朝日山	<b>Ehon</b>
37	Kōshoku suetsumuhana	好色末摘花	1785	Senryū suetsumuhana	川柳末摘花	Senryū
38	Kamurogiku	禿菊	1788	Chūshingura	忠臣蔵	Chūshingura
39	Isei Sensei yume makura	遺精先生夢枕	1789	Kinkin Sensei eiga no yume (1775)	金々先生栄花夢	Kibyōshi
40	Onna enshoku kyōkun kagami	女艶色教訓鑑	1777/1793	Nana komachi/Genji monogatari/Jokunsho	女訓書	Jokunsho
41	Oshō bobo	於莊玉開	1795	Wasō byōe (1774)	遊谷子作の「和莊兵衛」	Kokkeibon
42	Kokinwakashū	古今和歌集	18th c?	Kokinwakashū	古今和歌集	Waka
43	Chūshingura	忠しんぐら	1803	Chūshingura	忠臣蔵	Chūshingura
44	Enshoku suikōtei	艶色水香亭	1807	Jinkōtei (1806)	沈香亭	Yomihon
45	Iraya setsuwa	為弄也説話	1808	Jiraya setsuwa	自来也説話	Yomihon
46	(Keichū) Hiza surige	(関中) 膝磨毛	1812	Tokaidō chū iza kurige (1802-09)	十返舎一九「東海道中膝栗毛」	Kyōka
47	Kyōkun onna saigaku	教訓女才学	1823	Onna daigaku	女大学	Jokunsho
48	Kōgō zatsuwa	交合雑話	1823	Kōmō zatsuwa (1787)	紅毛雑話 森嶋中良作	Topology
49	Jikkai no zu	十界之図	1823	Jikkai	十界	Buddhism
50	Hyakki yagyō	百鬼夜行	1825	Hyakki yagyō	百技夜行	Kaidan
51	Iro naoshi	(祝言) 色女男思	1825	Noh plays	謡曲をテーマにした	Noh
52	(Keichū ensho)Yōbunsho	(関中艶書) 用文章	1826	Ōraimono	往来物様式	Ōraimono
<b>53</b>	<b>Genji shinasadame</b>	源氏品定め	<b>1829</b>	<b>Genji monogatari</b>	源氏物語	<b>Genji monogatari</b>

54	Tōsei suikoden	当世水滸伝	1829	Keisei suikoden	傾城水滸伝	Gōkan
55	Ehon Chūshingura	艶本忠臣蔵	1829	Chūshingura	忠臣蔵	Jōruri
56	Kaidan hyaku bobo gatari	開談百陰語	1829	Kaidan hyaku monogatari	怪談百物語	True account 実録
57	Koi no minato nyōgo no shimada	恋湊女護生娘	1830	Koi minato nyōgo shimada (1823)	恋湊女護生娘 礪川南嶺作	Sharebon
58	Tsukushi matsufuji no shigarami	筑紫松藤 柵	1830	Tenshō tsukushi no iezuto	添消筑紫蝶	Kabuki
59	Yuki no mado	雪の窓	1830	Tōkai tango	東海探語	Sharebon
60	Fūzoku sangokushi	風俗三国志	1832	Sangokushi	三国志	Gōkan
61	Edo Murasaki Yoshiwara Genji	江戸紫吉原源氏	1834	Nise Murasaki inaka Genji	修紫田舎源氏	Gōkan
62	Enshi gojūyōjō	艶紫娛拾餘帖	1835	Nise Murasaki inaka Genji	修紫田舎源氏 (Pictures)	Gōkan
63	Tokaidō yotsuya kaidan	当開道夜通家会談	1835	Tokaidō Yotsuya kaidan	鶴屋南北「東海道四谷怪談」	Play
64	Kari no fumi	嘉理の婦美	1836	Karigane gonin otoko	雁金五人男	Kabuki
65	Azuma Genji	吾妻源氏	1837	Shin usuyuki	新薄雪	Jōruri
66	Koi no yatsufuji	恋のやつふぢ	1837	Satomi hakkenden	里見八犬伝	Yomihon
67	Sumagoto	須磨琴	1837	Nise Murasaki inaka Genji	修紫田舎源氏	Gōkan
68	Nise Murasaki Naniwa Genji	二世紫浪花源氏	1837	Nise Murasaki inaka Genji	修紫田舎源氏	Gōkan
69	Chinpen shinkei bai	枕辺深閨梅	1838	Shinpen kinpenbai (1831/47)	曲亭馬琴の「新編金瓶梅」	Gōkan
70	Okage sangū - Yamato kantan	御蔭参宮/倭邯鄲	1830s	Okage mairi - Yamato kantan(1830)	御蔭参宮/倭邯鄲	Kokkeibon
71	Ikkyū zenji shoshiki mondō	一休禪師諸色問答	1840	Ikkyū mondō	一休禪師の問答と逸話	Ikkyū mondō

72	Ume goyomi neya no utsuriga	梅好閨乃 伝染香	1841	Shunshoku ume goyomi	春色梅児誉美	Ninjōbon
73	Shunshoku hatsune no ume	春色初音 之六女	1842	Shunshoku ume goyomi	春色梅児誉美	Ninjōbon
74	Dōchū onna hizakurige	道中女膝 栗毛	1847	Dōchū onna hizakurige	道中女膝栗毛	Kokkeibon
75	Tabi makura gojūsan eki	旅枕五十 三次	1848-53	Tokaido gojusan eki - ehon hizakurige	東海道五十三 駅/絵本膝栗毛 (1836)	Gōkan
76	Inpen shinkeibai	淫篇深閨 梅	1848/54	Shinpen kinpenbai	新編金瓶梅	Bakin's gōkan
77	Tsuyu no hinuma	(艶色美 談) 露之 飛奴間	1848/54	Asagao nikki	雨香園柳浪作 の「朝顔日 記」	Yomihon
78	Shunshoku tama zoro	春色多満 揃	1850	Otogizōshi story	玉藻前伝説	Otogizōshi?
79	Insho kaikōki	淫書開好 記	1850/56	Shinsho taikōki	真書太閤記	True account 実 録
80	<b>Shō utsushiai oi Genji</b>	<b>正写相生 源氏</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>Nise Murasaki inaka Genji</b>	<b>源氏物語</b>	<b>Genji monogatari</b>
81	Karimakura ukina no adanami	仮枕浮名 乃仇浪	1854	Yowa nasake ukina no yokogushi	与話情浮名横 櫛	Kabuki
82	Shaka hassō zokuya mato bunko	釈花八粧 続矢的文 庫	1854	Shaka hassō yamato bunko (1845)	釈迦八相倭文 庫	Gōkan
83	Sato no yozakura	青楼夜花 王	1854/60	Geography books	地理書	Geography
84	Akegarasu yuki no akebono	明烏雪の 曙	1857	Akegarasu yume no awayuki	明烏夢泡雪	Jōruri
85	Nezumi zome haru no iro ito	鼠染春の 色系	1857	Nezumi komon haru no shingata	鼠小紋東君新 形	Play
86	Akogi bunko	阿古妓文 庫	1857/58	Yume musubu chō no torioi (1856)	夢結蝶鳥追	Kabuki script
87	Sasemi hakkaiden	佐世見八 開伝	1858	Satomi hakkenden	里見八犬伝	Yomihon
88	Jitsugo kyō eshō	実娯教絵 抄		Jitsugo kyō	実語教	Ōraimono
89	Ada makura Chūshingura	仇枕忠臣 蔵	1858	Chūshingura	忠臣蔵	Chūshingur a

90	Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi	東海道五 十三駅			東海道五十三 駅/絵本膝栗毛	Gōkan
91	Hyakunyū isshu shokushibako	百人一出 式紙箱		Hyakunin isshu	百人一首	Waka
92	Tōkaidō yotsuyadan	当開道夜 通家怪談		Tōkaidō yotsuyadan	東海道四谷怪 談（1862）	Gōkan

## Appendix 2: formats and layouts of words analysed

	Title	Year	Format	vol.	Illustrator	Vol.	Folio n.	Folio pictures	Picture s %	Page layout
1	<i>Meiji nasake kurabe</i>	1681	Ōhon	5	Unknown	V. 1	22	2.5	11.30%	Mostly half-folio spreads Text in separate pages
						2	19	2.5	13.15%	
						3	19.5	2.5	12.80%	
						4	23.5	2.5	10.60%	
						5	19	2	10.50%	
2	<i>Genji on-iro asobi</i>	1681	Ōhon	2	Yoshida Hanbei	V. 1	20	12	60.00%	Double-page spreads. Text in separate pages
						2	18	11.5	63.80%	
3	<i>Kōshoku meijo makura</i>	1686	Hanshibon	1	Shimomura Shichirōbei	V. 1	25	14.5	58%	Pictures: half-folio composite pages. Text in separate pages
4	<i>Ehon Asahiyama</i>	1741	Hanshibon	3	Nishikawa Sukenobu				75%	Pictures with text on top
5	<i>Haru no akebono</i>	1773	Hanshibon	3	Kitao Shigemasa	V. 1	16	9	56.25%	
						2	16	8.5	53.12%	
						3	17	9.5	55.80%	Pictures with text on top. Text at the end
6	<i>Ukiyo no itoguchi</i>	1780	Hanshibon	3	Katsukawa Shunshō	V. 1	15	9	60%	Pictures with text on top. Text at the end
						2	13	9	69.20%	
						3	15	9	60%	
7	<i>Shusho Ise monogatari</i>	1685	Hanshibon	1	Yoshida Hanbei		58	14.5	25%	Pictures with text on top
8	<i>Tawaburegusa</i>	1663		2	Hishikawa Moronobu	V. 1	17	2	11.70%	Mostly half-folio spreads text in separate pages
						2	16	1.5	9.40%	
9	<i>Kōshoku Ise monogatari</i>	1686	5	Yoshida Hanbei?	V. 1	22.5	4.5	20%	Mostly half-folio spreads Text in separate pages	
					2	17	4.5	26.50%		
					3	15	3.5	23.30%		
					4	15	4	26.6		
					3	14	2.5	17.85%		
10	<i>Wakoku bijin asobi</i>	1672-81	Ōhon	1	Hishikawa Moronobu		31		65%	Pictures with text on top
11	<i>Ise Genji shikishi zukushi</i>	1674-83	Ōhon	1	Hishikawa Moronobu		24		75	1/4 of double-page: text
12	<i>Zassho makura</i>	1678	Ōhon	1	Hishikawa Moronobu		20.5		75	Pictures with text on top
13	<i>Ukiyo raku asobi</i>	1681	Ōhon	1	Sugimura Jihei		21		65	Pictures with text on top
14	<i>Ehon kōshoku hana no sakazuki</i>	1687	Ōhon	2	Hishikawa Moronobu	V. 1	13		75	貼込帖
						2	11.5			Pictures with text on top
15	<i>Shinjitsu Ise monogatari</i>	1690	Hanshibon	1	Unknown		62	10	16.10%	text in separate pages
16	<i>Fūfu narabi no oka</i>	1714	Yokochūbon	3	Nishikawa Sukenobu	V. 1	27	4	14.80%	text in separate pages
						2	22	4	18.20%	First short dialogues
						3	21	4	19%	
17	<i>In'yō Ise fūryū</i>	1712	Yokobon	3	Nishikawa Sukenobu	V. 1	30	4	13.30%	Double-page spreads
						2	28	4	14.20%	Short dialogues
						3	30	4	13.30%	
18	<i>Musō zuki</i>	1744-47	Yokochūbon	3	Okumura Masanobu	V. 1	21	13.5	64%	Text at the end
						2	19	10	52.60%	Double-page spreads
						3	21	11	52.30%	lot of text in pictures
19	<i>Genji kyasha makura</i>	1676	Ōhon	1	Hishikawa Moronobu				75%	Pictures with text on top
20	<i>Fūryū iro kai awase</i>	1711	Yokobon	1 of	Nishikawa Sukenobu	V. 1	22	10	45.50%	text in separate pages
21	<i>Hamaguri Genji</i>	1748/51	Yokobon	1 of	Okumura Masanobu	V. 1	26	15	57.70%	Double-page spreads
22	<i>Genji kagetsushō</i>	1769	Hanshibon	1 of	Suzuki Harunobu	V. 1	13	6	46.10%	Text at the end
23	<i>Genji shina sadame</i>	1829	Hanshibon	3	Utagawa Kunisada	V. 1	18	6	33.30%	Double-page spreads
						2	15	5.5	36.60%	long dialogues
						3	13	5.5	42.30%	
24	<i>Naniwa Genji</i>	1837	Chū-orihon	1	Utagawa Kunisada		24	7	29.15%	Text at the end
										no text in pictures

25	<i>Sumagoto</i>	1838 ca	Hanshibon	3	Utagawa Kunisada					
						V. 1	12	5	41.60%	no text in pictures
						2	11	4	36.30%	Double-page spreads
						3	11	4	36.30%	
26	<i>Enshi gojūyōjō</i>	1835	Ōhon	3	Utagawa Kunisada					Text at the end
						V. 1	19	10	52.50%	Double-page spreads
						2	15	7.5	50%	
						3	13	7.5	57.60%	
27	<i>Azuma Genji</i>	1837	Ōhon	3	Utagawa Kunisada					
						V. 1	19	7	36.80%	Double-page spreads
						2	17	5	29.40%	no text in pictures
						3	20	6	30%	Text at the end
28	<i>Utsushiai-oi Genji</i>	1851	Ōhon	3	Utagawa Kunisada					
						V. 1	20	8	40%	Double-page spreads
						2	19	8	42.10%	Text at the end
						3	17	6	35.30%	dialogues
29	<i>Enshoku shinasadame</i>	1852	Ōhon	3	Utagawa Kunimori					
						V. 1	16	7	43.75%	Double-page spreads
						2	13	7	53.80%	Text at the end
						3	12	7	58.30%	only waka in pictures
30	<i>Kagetsu Genji</i>	1860s	Ōhon	3	Koikawa Shōzan					
						V. 1	20	7	35%	half-folio pictures
						2	15	6	40%	Text at the end
						3	16	6	37.50%	only waka in pictures
31	<i>Ukiyo Genji gojūyōjō</i>	1861-64	Hanshibon	3	Koikawa Shōzan					
						V. 1	22	8	36.30%	Half-folio and double-p pictures. Short dialogue pictures
						2	19	6	31.50%	
						3	15	6	40%	

## Abbreviations

NKBD = *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*

NKBZ = *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*

SNKBZ = *Shin Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*

NKBT = *Nihon koten bungaku taikai*

SNKBT = *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai*

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## Online Resources

Kinsei ehon sōgō Database, Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University

<http://www.dh-jac.net/db13/ehoncatalogue/FMPro?-db=ehoncatalogue.fp5&-lay=layout2&-format=index.html&-view>

International Research Center for Japanese Studies: Erotic Books Database (NBK)

国際日本文化研究センター・艶本資料データベース

<http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/category/enbon.html>

(Registration and a password required to gain access to this database)

Ritsumeikan University ARC “Special Books” Database (ARC)

立命館 ARC 所蔵特別図書データベース

<http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/dbroot/privilege/enter.htm>

The British Museum Collection Database Search (BM)

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx)

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/asia>